The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 7, 1889.

The Week.

THE last veto message of President Cleveland, that of the Direct-Tax Bill, is a document which will be cited in history as a worthy rounding-off of his Administration. In every way it is characteristic of him as a President who, on important occasions, was as fearless in defending the best interests of the people as he was free from all taint of demagogism. The bill was a thoroughly bad one, and owed its being solely to the appetite born of the large surplus in the Treasury. It pretended to be a proposition to refund to the States the direct tax legally and constitutionally paid by them to the Government in 1861. There was no more reason for paying this back to the States than for returning to them the money which they pay to the Government in customs duties. The effect of the bill would have been to bestow upon the States and Territories named $17,000,000, in a way which the President forcibly and accurately calls a "sheer, bald gratuity." He shows very clearly that such a bestowal would be unconstitutional, and argues with great force against the unfairness and unjust discriminations of the bill, and the disturbing idea which it would introduce by going against the principle that the power of taxation by the Government should only be used in "cases where its necessity and justice are not doubtful." It was equally noteworthy and characteristic that the Senate should at once pass the bill over the veto almost as soon as received, by a vote of forty-five to nine. That fact also will be recorded in history as revealing the recklessness and fondness for extravagant legislation which most distinguish the Senate of the present day. It should be said that even the extreme partisanship of Senator Edmunds was not strong enough so to overbalance his judgment as a constitutional lawyer as to induce him to vote with the majority. He was one of the nine who sustained the veto.

Secretary Fairchild's ways in Custom-house administration are inscrutable. Consequently we shall attempt no explanation of his sending into Congress, on the last day of his term of office, charges of wholesale corruption, still unsupported by any proof, against the Custom-house officers of this port, and of Philadelphia, and of San Francisco. Of these establishments he has himself been for three years the official and responsible chief. It was his duty, *and his principal duty*, to see that they were manned in a proper manner, that the duties in each of them were honestly collected, and that persons guilty of fraud in them were arrested, indicted, and tried before Federal courts. Not one prosecution has he instituted. No proper inquiry by a competent tribunal into the condition of these great Government offices has he made. Instead of this, he has begun to publish to the world within the last three months that President Cleveland's administration has absolutely failed in its principal function, and that it leaves the chief Government offices honeycombed with corruption. Of course, Senator Ingalls himself could desire nothing better than this as an excuse for "a clean sweep" in every department of the Government. What President Cleveland and the Democratic managers have been thinking about—supposing them to look ahead at all—in letting the Secretary go on with his "statements" and explanations we cannot imagine. It would have done the Administration great honor to have overhauled the custom-houses three years ago, by competent investigators, and reformed them, if reform they needed. But think of making no reform at all, and simply hurling insult and denunciation at the principal Government employees just as the Democratic President is packing his trunks to leave the White House! Has the like of it ever been known in political history?

One of the most important and gratifying features of the inaugural address is its silence upon a subject which occupied a large space in the similar address delivered by Mr. Harrison's last Republican predecessor. Gen. Garfield spoke at length of ignorance in the voter, and especially of illiteracy in the South; declared that the nation was "under special obligations to aid in removing the illiteracy which it has added to the voting population"; and affirmed that "all the constitutional power of the nation and of the States, and all the volunteer forces of the people, should be summoned to meet this danger by the saving influence of universal education." This was a committal of the Administration to the policy of Federal aid to education in the South, as proposed by the Blair bill. Mr. Harrison has been earnestly importuned to make a similar declaration in favor of action by the nation in the matter of education in the South, but he has refused to do so. "If in any of the States," he says, "the public security is thought to be threatened by ignorance among the electors, the obvious remedy is education," and he adds: "The sympathy and help of our people will not be withheld from any community struggling with special embarrassments or difficulties connected with the suffrage, if the remedies proposed proceed upon lawful lines and are promoted by just and honorable methods." That the new President means by this expression only what Gen. Garfield called "all the volunteer forces of the people," and rejects the idea of Federal legislation in that direction, is made clear by his significant omission even to mention appropriations for education as a means of reducing the revenue, although he does mention and recommend such other methods as enlarging the navy, subsidizing steamship lines, and lengthening the pension roll.

President Harrison's silence upon this question shows that reflection has only strengthened the sound view which he took in a speech upon the Blair bill March 25, 1884, when he said: "The only permanent reliance for the education of the masses must be upon local taxation in the States; every one concedes that. One dollar voted by the people of any school district for the support of common schools is worth $10 given out of the Treasury of the United States. It evinces an interest in education, and guarantees a careful and intelligent supervision. Only a local supervision and interest will bring these constituencies that are now so backward in the race of education abreast with other States. In my judgment, there could be no worse policy than to throw in a single year into those States $15,000,000 out of the National Treasury." The refusal of the new Administration to endorse the policy of Federal aid to education in the South leaves that mistaken scheme to be buried under the rapidly growing load of popular disapproval. It has been severely condemned by the leading educators of the country, including such prominent champions of negro education in the South as Gen. Armstrong of Hampton; it is now vigorously denounced by a large proportion of the leading Republican newspapers of the nation, and advocated by scarcely one; it was stoutly opposed by prominent Republicans from both the East and the West when last before the Senate; and the tide of educated public sentiment now sets steadily and strongly against it. There is good reason to hope that, when it next comes before Congress, it will be beaten by the Senate, once for all.

Rumors of "war" upon the new Administration fill the air in every direction. "Steve" Elkins is said to have returned from Washington in a towering rage because he offered the new President some advice which was not accepted. The Republican Senators are said to be full of wrath because their advice about the Cabinet has not been asked. "Tom" Platt is said to be brooding in secret and sharpening his "knife" for vengeance because he has been left out of the Cabinet. About Warner Miller there are conflicting rumors. One set represent him as serene, because he assured Gen. Harrison immediately after election that he did not wish a Cabinet position. Another set represent him as sad, but consoled by the reflection that he is no worse off than Platt is, for both of them are lying "outside the breastworks." Probably all the rumors about them and other Republican leaders are largely imaginary, but there is visible behind them all a tremendous determination in the minds of all those disappointed about the Cabinet to get even by securing a share in the offices about to be distributed. The Platt-Miller tussle over the Cabinet will now shift to the Custom-house, for example, and in

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various other directions there is likely to be a scramble which will make the President think Cabinet-making mere child's play in comparison.

Whatever may be Col. Dudley's reputation outside the Republican party, his popularity in the party was obviously never so great. At the National Convention of Republican Clubs last week his name was repeatedly cheered, and he was thanked by special resolution for his services in aiding President Harrison's election. At the Spellbinders' banquet in Washington on Saturday evening, at which Col. Elliott F. Shepard, the most religious Republican in the world, presided, Dudley received equal honor. According to the *Tribune's* report, "Col. Dudley's name was cheered between every course by the enthusiastic Spellbinders." No reasons are given for this admiration, but possibly it is because Dudley has thus far succeeded in eluding all attempts to have him explain his famous "floater" letter. Why a fervid Christian like Col. Shepard should lead in paying such signal honor to a man who is accused, over his own signature, of "buying floaters in blocks of five" to vote for Harrison, and who refuses to say whether or not the accusation is true, we do not know. The only man whom the Colonel has ever rebuked for the use of money in an election is John J. O'Brien, and he rebuked him warmly, not for using the money, but for basely failing to use it. Possibly he and the Spellbinders are cheering Dudley's name because he did not put the money of good religious Republicans in his own pocket, but sent it on its pious mission to the pockets of "floaters."

In the Assembly at Albany on Wednesday week, Mr. Ainsworth, a stanch Republican, chairman of the Appropriations Committee which has been investigating the ceiling scandal, made the following remarkable statement:

"We all know that politics was here last year thicker than the panels above us in this ceiling, and this bill was introduced to this house for the purpose of getting something through that would take out a pine forest that sustained the dangerous ceiling, and the question was, Shall we put it into Mr. Perry's hands? Then politics came up. Then the question was, Shall we put it into Andrews's hands? and politics came up. Then the question was, Shall we make a commission? and politics came up again. I consulted Senator Sloan, and he thought Mr. Perry should do the work. We canvassed the House to see if we could carry it with Mr. Perry's name in it, and we found we could not. And the only reason a commission was attached to this bill was for the simple purpose of taking care of the politics that was in the job on the eve of a Presidential election. Isn't that true? It was an unwise thing to do it. We ought not to have done it. If politics had been allowed to take care of themselves, and the charge of the construction had been given where it ought to have been given, to Commissioner Perry, the incoming President would be a Democrat, and we would have no occasion to go to the inauguration of Gen. Harrison next week."

How could the $100,000 or more which was stolen on the ceiling job have secured Gen. Harrison's election? Let us review the history of the job briefly and see. Mr. Ainsworth says truthfully that a commission was decided upon in order to let "politics" in. The bill creating the Commission passed the Assembly and remained in the hands of Gov. Hill for thirty days. He gave it a great deal of thought, and did not sign it till he knew who was to constitute the Commission, and who was to be put in charge of the work. There was, in short, a perfect understanding between the Democratic Governor and the Republican managers in the Assembly, as to the way in which the job was to be executed. The Commission, composed of three Republicans and two Democrats, all members of the Assembly, from the beginning to the end paid no attention whatever to the work, leaving it entirely in the hands of the Superintendent of Public Buildings, Mr. Andrews, who is a Democrat and a subservient agent of Gov. Hill. When the job was finished, it was discovered to be an outrageous swindle, by which the State had been robbed of at least $100,000.

The Assembly, after trying vainly to stave off investigation, had to let some of the truth come out. Mr. Ainsworth's committee, in spite of the most strenuous exertions of its chairman to keep the full truth from being known, was obliged to report that there had been fraud, and that the Commission and the Superintendent had been guilty of gross neglect of duty. The Assembly, in a spurt of virtuous indignation, called for the removal of the Superintendent. The Board of Trustees of Public Buildings, which has the power to remove him, is composed of Gov. Hill, Lieut.-Gov. Jones, Democrats, and the Speaker of the Assembly, Mr. Cole, who is also Chairman of the Ceiling Commission. They have thus far refused to remove him. Here are "politics" in bewildering profusion, and about equally divided between Democrats and Republicans. We have Mr. Ainsworth's word for it that the great result of the combination was the election of Gen. Harrison. He ought to have added "and of Gov. Hill." His explanation of the ceiling job is nothing less than a confession that it was concocted by the Governor and the Republican managers for the mutual benefit of Hill and Harrison. The State was robbed of $100,000 for the benefit of a "deal" by which the Republicans were to defeat their own candidate for Governor, and the Democratic candidate for Governor was in return to defeat the Democratic candidate for President. It is not the first time that such a "deal" has been hinted at, though it is the first full confession of its actual existence. That Gov. Hill would consent to enter into such an agreement, nobody who remembers his aqueduct "deal" can doubt. He did precisely the same kind of thing at that time, and the men who represented the Republican party in that agreement to plunder the State are the men who stand foremost in this State in that section of the Republican party which is now showing that it has the upper hand of the new President.

Two noteworthy deliverances on the subject of pensions have been made recently by Union soldiers. One was by Gen. J. D. Cox of Ohio, who, in an address at Chicago on Washington's Birthday, made an earnest protest against the demand for indiscriminate pensions and the cheapening of patriotism which such a policy involves, saying: "When I think of this, I long for some trusted leader to plant the colors at the front, that we may rally on them as in the crisis of a great battle. I long for a voice, potent as Sheridan's on the road to Winchester, crying like his: 'Face the other way, boys! Face the other way; *that* way lies dishonor.'" The other address was made by Joseph W. Fifer before the annual encampment of the Illinois Department of the Grand Army in Springfield, last week. "We have an overflowing treasury," he said, "and a surplus increase of over $100,000,000 annually, a burden scarcely felt by the people; and the Government that would not, under these circumstances, provide liberally for its defenders is not fit to exist, and should be blotted from the family of nations. *If the Government paid $1,000,000 daily for pensions, the nation as a nation would be just as rich at the end of the year as it was before, as the money would still be in the hands of our own people.*" Unfortunately, Jacob D. Cox is an ex-Governor, who has no influence with the controlling elements in the Republican party, while Joseph W. Fifer is the newly elected Governor of his State, chosen after a campaign in which a demand for more liberal pensions was one of the chief rallying-cries of the successful party.

Attempts to have the law of libel amended in the interest of the newspapers are being made in various States, notably Massachusetts, Maine, Michigan, and Ohio. That it needs amendment there is no question. The bill introduced in Wisconsin is the best we have seen. It does away with the legal presumption of malice, which in nine cases out of ten is absurd, forbids the recovery of any but actual damages sustained where actual malice is not proved, and forbids the bringing of any action for libel unless the plaintiff shall have asked for a retraction or correction; but it makes the retraction or correction pleadable in mitigation of damages, and bars all suits begun by lawyers for a contingent fee. This last provision would keep a very large proportion of the libel suits off the calendar of the courts. The Wisconsin bill is very much preferable to the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania bills, in that it does not make retraction or correction a complete defence. The Massachusetts bill would really leave every man in the community at the mercy of the Billy McGlory journalists, who are in the business (and proclaim it loudly) for money only, and do not care how they get it. They would print any story about anybody that would be likely to increase "sales," and then get off scot free and increase sales still further by printing a correction, probably a jocose one, a day or two later. For instance, there is much more money to be got by saying that the Rev. Dr. Toogood has eloped with his cook and then "correcting" it,

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than there is by saying nothing whatever about Dr. Toogood or his cook. Consequently, on accepted journalistic principles, the Doctor would be made to elope with the cook just as often as sales were "slack." The true plan is to leave every man who thinks himself libelled his remedy at law, as he now has it, but saddle him with every condition necessary to insure good faith in bringing the suit, and then let correction or retraction, coupled with the character of the journal sued, have its proper weight with the jury, which it generally has.

The woman-suffrage question came before the Maine Legislature on Thursday on a proposition to give the sex the ballot in municipal elections. The matter has aroused considerable interest during the preliminary discussions, a notable feature of the case having been the presentation of a number of remonstrances against the proposed change from women. Ex-Gov. Robie, the leader of the House, made a long speech in favor of the bill, but it was defeated by a vote of 90 to 40. The friends of the cause will be somewhat disappointed at the poor showing which it made, because it indicates that the large vote cast by women at the Boston school election last December has not strengthened the movement as much as they hoped. It appeared possible then that the Republicans might take up this extension of the suffrage as a party measure, but the tone of the press in New England, as well as this vote in the Maine House, shows that no such step will be taken at present. On the eve of the decision at Augusta, the Republican organ published at the capital came out with an earnest protest against the bill, on the ground that "female suffrage would surely defeat its own avowed objects, and in the end render the government of cities, States, and nations more difficult and more perilous." The Boston *Journal*, the chief Republican newspaper in Massachusetts, is equally opposed to the change, and it is evident that for the present the movement in New England will be left to make headway without organized support from either of the great parties.

While it has become with us a question how to discourage and restrict immigration, the leading nations of South America are vying with each other in offering inducements to colonists from Europe. The result is a very marked increase in the number of newcomers, in the last few years, in Chili, Brazil, and the Argentine Republic. The last named country received upwards of 175,000 immigrants in 1888, and confidently looks for more than 200,000 in the current year. The nationalities represented are mainly Italians, Spanish, and French, in the order named. French emigration to the Plate River is astonishingly on the increase, so much so as to win the anxious attention of economists like Leroy-Beaulieu, who are asking why this great diversion of French labor should not go to French colonies, as it notably is not going. What troubles the Argentines, however, is that so small a portion of the immigrants—only about 10 per cent.—devote themselves to agriculture. They see clearly enough that it is only the rapid development of their natural resources that can enable them to pay for the vast system of internal improvements now under way. Over 5,000 miles of railway were under construction last year, and 3,000 more are planned for 1889; but this means an addition of $75,000,000 to the national debt. Ten thousand houses were built in Buenos Ayres in 1888, and the city now has a population of nearly half a million; but this means, just as does the enormous premium on gold, a feverish commercial speculation, which is distinctly in no need of encouragement. So strongly does the Government feel that more labor is wanted, not for railroads and harbors, but for farms, that it is seriously proposing to restrict immigration, of Italians at least, to those who will give themselves to agriculture.

Brazil, in like manner, is coming forward to take our place, if we definitely abandon it, as an asylum for the overcrowded and oppressed of Europe. From an average immigration of but 27,390 a year for ten years, the figures leaped in 1888 to 130,000 in the two ports of Rio and Santos alone. The incoming tide is not alone directed, as before, to the provinces of the south, but to those of the north and of the centre as well. A part of this quickened immigration seems to be due to the abolition of slavery. Europeans were reluctant to go as laborers to a country where the bulk of manual labor was servile. Now all laborers are equal before the law. But much also must be attributed to the provisions made by the empire to attract foreigners as settlers. Every immigrant coming with a family and proposing to follow agriculture is given free transportation from the port at which he disembarks to the point where he is to settle, with free support for eight days thrown in. If he prefers to join one of the Government colonies, he has support and wages guaranteed to him until the time of his first harvest. Bureaus of information have been established in various cities of Europe to make known the advantages of Brazil to intending emigrants, though rigid care is taken to prevent such scandals as have been seen in connection with Italian emigration, by the prohibition of any commissions to the agents.

The point which the London *Standard* raises against Parnell, and by which other people in London seem to be impressed, is that Parnell has himself to blame for his sufferings because he did not bring an action against the *Times* to disprove the authenticity of the letters. But this notion cannot have originated with anybody who has considered the difficulty, not to say the impossibility, of proving a negative. To the assertion that he signed a certain letter, Parnell could only oppose his naked denial, unless he knew the history of the letter—who produced it, and, in fact, *all* of the *Times's* reasons for thinking the signature genuine. This would have supplied, as it did subsequently supply, materials for exculpatory evidence. But the *Times* all along declared that it would not under any circumstances reveal the source of the letter, inasmuch as this would cause the murder of the person supplying it. But could not Parnell, in his suit, have extracted this information in cross-examination? He had no reason to think so. In the O'Donnell *agt.* Walter suit, the counsel for the *Times* declared in court that the proprietors would submit to the legal consequences, whatever they might be, of a refusal—that is, would, if necessary, let a verdict go against them and pay damages—sooner than say who gave them the documents. What Parnell had reasonably to fear was that damages awarded under such circumstances would be nominal, or, in other words, that the verdict would not vindicate him. For the chances were probably a hundred to one that a jury of London shopkeepers, after having been stuffed for a year or two by the *Times* with stories of Irish crime, and of the general wickedness of the Parnellites, would treat the excuse of the *Times* as a natural and proper one; would feel that "a great journal" like the *Times* might be trusted to act in such a matter in good faith and with proper caution; and send Parnell out of court with nominal damages, an enormous bill to his lawyers, and an additional stigma on his character for Tory journalists and orators to rub in at their leisure.

Pigott's suicide somewhat simplifies the situation in London, as each side accused the other of paying him to run away. The Irish—see Davitt's cable to Sullivan—said the Tories had bribed him to "clear out," while the friends of the *Times* maintained that the wicked Labouchere had done the same thing. He has vindicated the reputation of both by killing himself, because it is hardly probable that, corrupt as he was, he could have been hired to commit self-slaughter. The life of a blackmailer which he has led for the last twenty years, must, as Mr. Bryce is said to have remarked, have been an awful one—a punishment in itself. If it be true, too, that when Houston came to hire him to discover something about the Parnellites, he found him in the depths of poverty, with his wife lying unburied in the house for lack of money, one can hardly help pitying the old scoundrel. The more one learns about him, however, the worse does the case of his employers become. What the manager of the *Times*, Mr. Macdonald, and the astute solicitor, Mr. Soames, ought to do under the circumstances, it is hard to say. Americans, when beset by difficulties of this sort, "go to Europe till it blows over"; but where can a European go when he becomes an object of general ridicule and contempt? Mr. Smalley of the *Tribune* telegraphs that Mr. Buckle, the editor, is believed to be blameless—that he did all he could, including kneeling before Mr. Walter, to prevent the blunder of printing the letters; but he found that luminous intelligence absolutely inexorable. But this again, as to Mr. Buckle, is contradicted by Mr Labouchere.

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THE CLEVELAND ADMINISTRATION.

THE late Administration met handsomely the most trying test to which it was subjected. For years half the people of the United States had been taught by their political guides that, if the other half should get into power, they would ruin the country. A large proportion of them had come to believe this. Very many white people at the North actually feared that, if Mr. Cleveland should be elected, "the Confederacy would be in the saddle"; that attempts would be made to pay the rebel debt and to pension the rebel soldiers; and that, by reason of all this, national prosperity would be destroyed, and their own property would not be worth half what it had been under Mr. Arthur. Many black people at the South really supposed that they would be put back into slavery. In short, in a country almost evenly divided in opinion, a large share of those who constituted one political organization regarded those who composed the other as foes to the nation, who would play havoc with all its interests if they should ever get control of the Government. This was a most terrible state of things, for, if these apprehensions were well founded, popular government had already proved a failure. It is the greatest credit of Mr. Cleveland's Administration that it has restored the ancient faith in our institutions, by demonstrating that either party can administer national affairs with success. The white Republicans of the North have suffered none of the ills which they feared, while the colored Republicans of the South have never seen an equal period since the war in which so much progress has been made in extending their educational advantages and promoting their general progress. Every Republican in the country to-day views the future with an equanimity which he never possessed before Mr. Cleveland became President, and by his wise and conservative course showed that patriotism and ability are not monopolized by one party.

Mr. Cleveland has materially advanced the cause of civil-service reform. The overthrow of the spoils system was not a thing to be achieved by a proclamation of emancipation and incorporated in an amendment to the Constitution. It must needs be a gradual process, making slow advances, step by step, as public sentiment extorted unwilling concessions from the hostile politicians. The passage of the Civil-Service Act, in a spasm of death-bed repentance, by the Forty-seventh Congress, after the stinging defeat of the Republicans in 1882, was one such step. Another most important one was made by Mr. Cleveland when he established the rule of allowing efficient incumbents holding under a four-years' term to serve out that term. From Jackson's day until Cleveland's, a "clean sweep" of such officials had been held proper. It had been made when the last previous change of parties occurred with Lincoln's accession in 1861. In 1885 the Democrats had been denied all chance at the Federal offices for a quarter of a century, and all the spoilsmen in the party wanted Cleveland to follow Lincoln's example and "turn the rascals out"—rascal meaning a Republican incumbent. He refused to do it, and long after the inauguration of a Democratic President hundreds of important and lucrative offices, scattered all over the country, remained in the hands of Republicans—each, as the months and often the years passed before the incumbent's term expired, an impressive object-lesson. These lessons have sunk deep into the public mind and have left an enduring impression. Neither Benjamin Harrison nor any other President will ever make a "clean sweep" of office-holders, good, bad, and indifferent, because Grover Cleveland broke up the practice. This is a great service, rendered at a cost of private comfort such as the liveliest imagination cannot easily exaggerate.

The Civil-Service Law has been, on the whole, well enforced, and large additions have been made to the classes under the rules, although the most important of these additions—that of the Railway Mail Service—was far too long delayed. In other relations to civil-service reform Mr. Cleveland was less successful. Whether consciously or not, he seems early to have conceived a notion of applying a sort of rude local-option principle to the subject. That is to say, where, as in New York city, in Brooklyn, and in Massachusetts, he found public sentiment pretty well educated on this question, he would live up pretty well to the spirit of his voluntary promises to the civil-service reformers by such acts as reappointing Postmaster Pearson of this city and three or four Republican postmasters in Massachusetts; appointing a new postmaster in Brooklyn, who, although a pronounced Democrat, proceeded to conduct the office strictly on business principles; and selecting a pronounced civil-service-reform Democrat for Collector of the Port of Boston. On the other hand, in States like Maryland and Indiana, he gave the spoilsmen almost as free a rein as Andrew Jackson had done two generations before, and appointments of the most disreputable sort were made in the Baltimore Custom-house and the Indianapolis Post-office. This was as serious a mistake from the political point of view as from that of the public interest. The partial concessions to the spoilsmen never overcame their disgust that the surrender had not been complete, while they dampened the enthusiasm among reformers which exhibitions of independence in some quarters had aroused. The result was that Mr. Cleveland lost strength with both elements. Even in Indiana, where there was supposed to be least sentiment in favor of reform, and where consequently least attention was paid to it, the Democrats lost several Congressional districts in 1886, after filling the offices with spoilsmen of the Aquila Jones stripe; and Mr. Cleveland failed to carry the State in 1888, although he had carried it in 1884, when the Republicans held all the offices. Not the least misfortune of these and like offences was the fact that they obscured the value of the real service performed in the general refusal to apply the "clean-sweep" rule. But it must always be remembered that what was hoped for by the most sanguine was beyond reasonable expectation. There are limits to the capacity of one man for resisting the "pressure" of a party which had polled for that man nearly 5,000,000 votes, which wanted twenty times as many offices as there were, and which wanted them quick.

> "What's done we partly may compute,
> But know not what's resisted."

Mr. Cleveland has rendered great service in resisting the tendency towards paternalism in government. This tendency had been steadily gaining strength for a long period, and had gone so far in 1881 that Gen. Garfield, in his inaugural address, advised the assumption by the Federal Government of a share in the work of education in the States. Mr. Cleveland revived the true doctrine. In his veto of a bill appropriating $10,000 from the national Treasury to buy seeds for some Texas farmers who had suffered from drought, he said, after a reference to the power and duty of the general Government: "A prevalent tendency to disregard the limited mission of this power and duty should, I think, be steadfastly resisted, to the end that the lesson should be constantly enforced that, though the people support the Government, the Government should not support the people." In accordance with this principle, he vetoed the Dependent Pension Bill, and thus thwarted the raid of the pension agents upon the Treasury. The belief that he stood ready to administer a similar blow to the Blair bill prevented the final passage of that measure, until now the sentiment of the country has pronounced against the policy of Federal aid to education. The many vetoes of private pension bills not only represented opposition to the idea that the Government is a sort of benevolent society, but also illustrated the remarkable conscientiousness which Mr. Cleveland brought to the discharge of all his duties. It will probably be held in future that the wholesale use thus made of the veto prerogative was ill-advised, as tending somewhat to cheapen it both in popular esteem and in influence over Congress. On the whole, however, Mr. Cleveland greatly benefited the nation by his consistent attitude of opposition to legislative extravagance and recklessness.

Mr. Cleveland has given the country striking exhibitions of courage. Such was the veto of the Dependent Pension Bill—the first objection ever raised by a President to a general pension measure; an objection raised by a President who thereby subjected himself to the charge of having been elected by rebels and copperheads, and of thus venting their spite against Union soldiers; an objection which every consideration of personal and partisan advantage operated to withhold. Such, too, was the message to Congress of December, 1887, declaring for tariff reform, and necessarily making that dreaded question the issue for the campaign in which he was the predestined Democratic candidate, and, in the opinion of Democratic politicians, sure of success if he only kept silent. Mr. Cleveland failed of re-election, but the display of manly independence and devotion to the public interests

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which so many politicians think caused his failure, has not been lost upon the people, and will not be forgotten.

That there were more aberrations from the path of duty during the last half of his term than during the first half, must be admitted. The reason is clear. During the first two years Mr. Cleveland was thinking how to be a good President during the term for which he had been elected; thereafter he was trying to secure a chance to be a good President during a second term. In his letter accepting the nomination in 1884, he had foreshadowed what actually occurred in his own case. "When we consider the patronage of this great office," he then said, "the allurements of power, the temptation to retain public place once gained, and, more than all, the availability a party finds in an incumbent whom a horde of office-holders, with a zeal born of benefits received and fostered by the hope of favors yet to come, stand ready to aid with money and trained political service, we recognize in the eligibility of the President for reëlection a most serious danger to that calm, deliberate, and intelligent political action which must characterize a government by the people." Mr. Cleveland would have been a better President if he had not tried to get a second term. But, as it was, he has been one of the best Presidents we have ever had —a model of industry, an exemplar of honesty, a representative of common sense, an embodiment of courage; in short, an excellent type of those homely virtues upon which the future of the republic depends.

SECRETARY BAYARD.

THE time has not perhaps come to do justice to the retiring Secretary of State. Few persons who have ever occupied the office have suffered more obloquy. Few have had greater difficulties to contend with. Few have suffered in silence under greater or more galling misrepresentation. No one, we venture to say, from the time of Thomas Jefferson, first Secretary of State, has been governed by purer motives, more patriotic impulses, more self-denying reticence and fidelity to the high interests under his charge. The measure of his ability cannot be determined now to the satisfaction of all. So much of heat and rancor has entered into the foreign complications of the past four years, and especially into the fishery dispute, that a calm judgment is not now to be looked for; but we are persuaded that Mr. Bayard's vindication will not be long deferred, and that when it comes it will be lasting. We believe that when we shall be a little further removed from the smoke of strife that has clouded Mr. Cleveland's Presidential term, and when (if ever) the Irish vote shall cease to be a peculiar prize in the field of party contention, Mr. Bayard's administration will be generally regarded as one marked by sound judgment as distinctly as it has been by high purposes.

In drawing any comparison between Mr. Bayard and other recent heads of the State Department we must bear in mind that the fishery question had been at rest for more than thirty years, except during a brief space prior to the negotiation of the Treaty of Washington, and that in this negotiation it was altogether subordinate to the greater issues growing out of the war of the Rebellion. The *Alabama* claims so overtopped everything else that fishing rights and fish tariffs were thrown into the balance, the one against the other, with scarcely a note of opposition. The Halifax award produced some discreditable murmuring—it is always discreditable for a party who has submitted a case to a tribunal of his own choosing, to whine over the verdict. So completely, however, had the fishery dispute been forgotten when Mr. Bayard came into office, that few people knew that such a thing had ever existed. The whole nation had to be educated upon it, and, naturally enough, the party in opposition seized upon it to make trouble for the party in power.

This is not the time or place to review Mr. Bayard's negotiation with Great Britain in detail. What we wish to direct attention to —what, we are convinced, future generations will most concern themselves about—is the fact that Mr. Bayard strove, against great pressure, for peace and good will among men and among nations. It is one of Mr. Webster's chief titles to glory that he negotiated the Ashburton Treaty. Then, as now, extravagant claims were made to the "rights" in dispute. Then it was territorial instead of maritime jurisdiction that constituted the body of the contention. Probably some persons can be found now who think that Mr. Webster gave up too much territory west of Lake Superior for the sake of a more immediate advantage to the State of Maine, but all such considerations are sunk in the noble achievement of peace and amity between two great nations. It is the true and ineffaceable judgment of both countries, and of other nations as well, that Mr. Webster is entitled to the thanks of mankind for bringing to a peaceful and honorable close a dispute of much acerbity and danger, and that his great influence was given to the stilling of passions and the prevention of bloodshed.

Now, it must be said for Mr. Bayard—and this nobody will deny—that he has carried the country through an angry dispute which has lasted his whole term of office without a breach of the peace or anything akin to it. He was confronted with this difficulty when he first came in. He turns it over to his successor in no worse plight than he received it, and this, considering the opportunities and great provocations for mischief, is no small achievement. We think that the treaty which the Senate rejected was a good one, and that if it had been negotiated in the same identical words by a Republican Secretary, it would have been ratified. But, be that as it may, it stands to Mr. Bayard's credit that he has preserved friendly relations, without dishonor, with Great Britain and with Germany, in the midst of unwonted clamor, and in spite of the strongest temptation to reap partisan advantage from the passions of the hour.

This is Mr. Bayard's chief claim to the gratitude of his countrymen; but when a closer investigation comes to be made into the records of his office, it will be found that he has administered his office with stricter conformity to the principles of civil-service reform than any other man in recent times who has held it—than any other in recent times who has held any Cabinet office, with the exception of Mr. J. D. Cox and Mr. Schurz. Whatever may be the judgment of his contemporaries on his foreign policies, his administration of the consular service and of the Department at Washington will command the hearty respect of all those who are opposed to the spoils system in politics.

PRESIDENT HARRISON'S INAUGURAL.

THE inaugural address of a new President is a part of the ceremony of introduction to Congress and the people. As it has no official place, it is never referred, as messages are, to committees of the House or Senate having charge of the several subjects considered. It has scarcely any influence on legislation, but is always looked for with interest as indicating the personal views of the President on a small variety of current political topics. Usually the inaugural address invokes attention to the virtues of morality, temperance, obedience to law, Christian charity, and toleration; and these passages are always much prized by the mass of the President's political supporters. He would indeed be a bold President who should omit to pay this tribute to virtue. President Harrison has done his full duty in this regard. Whatever his administration may bring forth, he has started on as good a basis as can be imagined. Like his predecessors in office, he has also a high degree of confidence in the future of the republic. In short, he is equipped with broad and generous ideas which harmonize with the inclinations and cheer the hearts of all good citizens.

When we come to look at particulars, we find that Mr. Harrison is in favor of protection to home industry on the plan of the fathers, that he favors steamship subsidies, at least upon North and South lines, that he believes in a more liberal system of pensions, that the revenue should be reduced without "breaking down our protective tariff or seriously injuring any domestic industry," that we should not be too economical, and that our navy should be increased and improved. On the subject of foreign relations, he holds that European Governments ought not to acquire new lodgment on this Continent, and especially not on any line of water communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans; also that our treaty rights and commercial rights in Samoa ought to be respected and enforced. It is gratifying to know that the President has "altogether rejected the suggestion of a special executive policy for any section of our country." We shall not ask who made the bad suggestion, or in what manner it could have been enforced under the Constitution. It is enough for us that President Harrison rejects it altogether, thereby saving himself and everybody else a deal of trouble. On the subject of civil-

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service reform, the President's utterances are not as decisive as we could have desired. He says in effect that he does not wish to promise more than he can perform. There is a degree of frankness in this which we can commend, provided he really does perform all that he can. As regards the Civil-Service Law, however, he is more emphatic. He says that the heads of departments and all other public officers will be expected to enforce it fully and without evasion, and that he hopes to do something more to advance its principles, as the present law empowers him to do.

Since the issue that divided parties in the recent campaign was the tariff, we examine that part of the inaugural address somewhat more attentively. Here we perceive the confusion of ideas that marked Mr. Harrison's campaign utterances on that subject. Protection appears to his mind not as a means to secure an end—namely, the building up of certain specified industries—but as a good *per se;* and this, he tells us, was the idea of our forefathers. We are now, he thinks, reverting to the policy of the fathers. He says:

> "The revival at the end of the century of the same patriotic interest in the preservation and development of domestic industries, and the defence of our working people against injurious foreign competition, is an incident worthy of attention. It is not a departure but a return that we have witnessed. The protective policy had then its opponents. The argument was made, as now, that its benefits inured to particular classes or sections."

The fathers, we venture to remind Mr. Harrison, took the view that protection was a tax levied upon all the people in order to give certain industries a start, to naturalize them, so that they might within a brief time go alone and do without the tax. Nor did it ever occur to the fathers that such a tax was a help to the wage-earning class. That is a late discovery. Mr. Harrison, of course, did not intend to falsify history in this particular. He has simply taken the campaign speeches of his own side as the truth without seeking to verify them. The fathers would have been much amazed if they had been told that protection was to be everlasting and on an increasing scale because it was a good thing in itself—as much as if they had been told that the war of 1812 was a good thing in itself and ought to be prosecuted after the terms of peace had been settled. "It is not a departure but a return that we have witnessed," says the President. When did we depart and when did we return? It does require some charity to read this calm statement, and then to recall the successive steps that have been taken during the past quarter of a century to pile up protective duties, until they have reached the pinnacle of 47 per cent. average on dutiable articles. The President is speaking of the end of the century as marking a return. Is it a return to the tariff of 1789, averaging 8½ per cent., or to any other that anybody can name? Ah, Mr. Harrison, any "return" that could possibly take place would be towards lower duties, and if you do not know this, you should ask your new Secretary of the Treasury to point out the year in which protection stood at as exorbitant a rate as now.

THE CABINET.

We presume few well-informed persons have seriously doubted, since Gen. Harrison's nomination, that Mr. Blaine would be his Secretary of State. The evidence of a bargain to that effect in the Convention, as a condition of the nomination, is as strong as evidence of that kind can ever be. Mr. Blaine, in fact, represented a much larger proportion of the party than Gen. Harrison did. He was, as a politician, the natural product of twenty years of party history after the war. His career and qualities illustrated the growth of the money power and the speculative spirit within the party, under the influence of an inflated currency and high tariff and in the absence of all serious criticism or opposition. His audacity, his good humor, his fondness for coöperative ventures, his horror of rebel brigadiers, and his contempt for reformers, were admirably suited to the party temper, and made his nomination sooner or later inevitable. He lost the election in 1884, in spite of the Irish vote, because he could not keep the small minority to whom his ways were odious, and who held the balance of power. But the attachment of the bulk of the party to him was never seriously shaken. Consequently it was a necessity that if it was held dangerous to run him again in 1888, some arrangement should be made to give him a high place in the Administration. That Gen. Harrison was cognizant of and a party to this arrangement we have no doubt. Some of the Mugwumps, who went back to the fold last year, could not bring themselves to believe it during the canvass, but it was none the less true, as they now see. Blaine was offered the State Department a few days after the election, a little sullenly perhaps, but loyally and punctiliously.

As to the amount of influence he will have, it is, of course, useless to speculate. We believe he has not thus far been consulted about anything. President Harrison has probably been somewhat nettled by the predictions that Blaine would "dominate" in the Cabinet; and it may be the Maine statesman will accordingly be confined strictly to his own Department. Eight years ago this would, perhaps, hardly have been possible. Blaine was younger then, and in much better health than he is now, full of what the Irish call "divilmint," and eager to make some more money. Time and disappointment have told on him; his natural force is considerably abated, and he is better off pecuniarily. We may, therefore, reasonably expect a less "brilliant" foreign policy, and in fact a delicate man's shrinking from avoidable troubles of every description. Whether he can long abstain from instructing President Harrison how to carry on the Government, remains to be seen, but that President Harrison will resent anything of the kind is tolerably certain.

Mr. Windom is another of the statesmen of Garfield's Cabinet who lost his place through Guiteau's crime, and to whom the party may, therefore, reasonably think it owes another opportunity. His administration of the Treasury from March, 1881, until Judge Folger succeeded him in November of the same year, was in all ways creditable. He went back to the Senate, and served the remainder of his unexpired term, but was not re-elected in 1883, having somehow lost his hold on his State. The principal agency in this disappointment was, it is said, the distribution in Minnesota of a photograph of a very fine house he had built himself in Washington, which, it was held, was grander than a true friend of the people would be willing to inhabit. At any rate, since then he has lived in New York, and occupied himself with New York enterprises, notably the Arcade Railroad, the bonds of which he has unsuccessfully tried to sell in various European capitals. Consequently he may now be considered, to all intents and purposes, a "Wall Street man," and how his appointment can, under these circumstances, be made to satisfy the West, we do not see; but if the President sees it, it is, of course, sufficient. The office of Secretary of the Treasury is yearly losing the importance it possessed during and for some time after the war, owing to the rapid disappearance of the public debt and the settlement in one way or another of the currency question. The Secretary is gradually ceasing to be a Minister of Finance, in the European sense—that is, a man who has to use his wits to find ways and means of meeting the public liabilities and preventing monetary disorder. He is becoming more and more an ordinary administrator, charged with the task of simply seeing that a great revenue is collected by honest agents, and that the drafts on it of extravagant heirs are duly honored. Great financiers are, in fact, out of place either in a nation or in a household which does not care how much it spends. The disposition of the surplus pending the action of Congress is no doubt a charge of considerable difficulty. Apart from this, Mr. Windom will find his task a simple one. The principal part of it will be, or ought to be, the overhauling of the customs service, which Mr. Fairchild claims that he has left in a most unsatisfactory condition.

As regards the other members of the Cabinet there is little to be said. Gen. Tracy is the only one about whom much is known in these parts, but he is the right man in the wrong place. He would have made an excellent Attorney-General; what kind of Secretary of the Navy he will make, time only will tell. Mr. Wanamaker, as has been generally expected, gets the Post-office, under conditions which President Harrison must know, and, knowing, must deplore and feel ashamed of. That Mr. Wanamaker will administer the office respectably we have little doubt, and that this will after a while be used as an argument, even by clergymen and religious newspapers, in favor of allowing Cabinet offices to be purchased by contributions to campaign funds, we

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have just as little. Nearly all corruption begins under some harmless guise. Votes are always bought for the good cause; decisions are always sold to the right side, and we finally get to the comfortable conclusion that not only is God with the big battalions, but that He makes political debauchery one of His instruments for good. The way the mind of a religious editor or a political clergyman sometimes plays round a proposition of this sort, is a very interesting bit of intellectual gymnastics.

REPUBLICANISM AT THE SOUTH.

ONE of the chief political aims of the incoming Administration is the development of a strong Republican party in the South. Lincoln assumed the Presidency by virtue of an election in which not only had his party failed to secure an electoral vote south of Mason and Dixon's line, but not a single ballot had been cast for the Republican ticket in ten of the old slave States, while in most of the other five the Republican votes scarcely rose above the dignity of scattering. Harrison received no electoral votes from any of the former slave States; and while the Republican party has become an active force in several of those States near the border line, its vote in most of the cotton States last fall was extremely small. Moreover, the party is even weaker than was indicated by the number of ballots it cast in some of these States, because the votes it actually polled included scarcely any which were cast by men of education, property, and standing—the sort of men which a party must have to give it power.

It is as desirable as it is natural that the Harrison Administration should seek by all legitimate means to strengthen the Republican party in the South. Sectional parties are not good for the nation. The North and South alike will be benefited by a recasting of lines which will cause the men of intelligence, property, and standing in the South to divide their support between the two parties in the same way as men of this class at the North do. One may go even further, and say that it would be better for the Democratic party throughout the nation to have a strong Republican party built up in the South. The Democrats have lost a good deal more than they have gained by having the South solid for their party, and could well afford to exchange two or three States in that part of the country which they have held the last dozen years, for two or three Western States which might before this have inclined their way if the solidity of the South had not deterred them from such a change of base.

In considering how to build up the Republican party at the South, President Harrison has one great advantage. An experiment has been tried which shows with perfect clearness how not to do it. Eight years ago, just as the last but one of the Republican Senators whom the South had sent to Congress during the reconstruction era disappeared, there came upon the stage a man who was hailed as the first in a line of successors who were to restore the party in the South to a power even greater than it had wielded in its palmiest days, during the early years of Grant's first administration. William Mahone was welcomed with outstretched arms by the Republicans of the Senate, and Mr. George F. Hoar, claiming to speak for the people of New England, burst forth into loud strains of joy over the evidence which this Virginian's coming furnished that the South was "turning its face towards the morning." Two years later Mahone was joined by another Virginian, and Riddleberger stood forth before the country as another representative of a rejuvenated Southern Republicanism. The Arthur Administration lent all possible favor to the experiment. The Federal offices of Virginia were turned over to Mahone, and he was given all the support he could ask from the standpoint of practical politics. The Union League Club bestowed upon him the favor of its countenance—and of its treasury. Leading Republican newspapers endorsed him as a great leader.

Eight years have passed. Mahone's term has expired, and the seat which he occupied has been filled for two years by a Democrat. Riddleberger's term expired at noon on Monday, and a Democrat succeeds him. Mahone is a thoroughly discredited man. Everybody recognizes him to have been a political boss of the most odious type, and nothing more. Riddleberger has for years past been a standing nuisance in the Senate through his drunken habits, and on the last night of the session had to be removed from the chamber by force because he was so disorderly. The Republican Senators rejoice at getting rid of a cheap politician who has disgraced the body to which he belonged, and securing in his place a gentleman. Republicans everywhere are happy that the party has no further responsibility for either Mahone or Riddleberger.

The end of it all renders ludicrous in the retrospect such anticipations as were entertained by men like Senator Hoar; and yet such an end was seen by clear-sighted men to be inevitable from the outset. Mahone gained power in Virginia on a platform of repudiating the State debt. Dishonesty was thus the corner-stone of the political structure which he reared. The corrupt methods of the spoilsman, naturally enough, were the only sort which such a man knew how to use. His idea of building up the Republican party of the South was to attract voters by demagogism and to buy them with offices. Northern Republicans would have ridiculed the idea that a party could be built up in the North by such means. The result of the Virginia experiment should prove sufficient to show them that there cannot be two standards of political morality in a country. If the Republican party at the South, under Harrison, is to succeed, it must begin by being decent, and elect to office other men than repudiationists and drunkards.

THE DEBATE ON "STANDARD OIL."

THE debate in the Senate on the oil-transportation clause in the Inter-State Commerce Bill on Wednesday and Thursday of last week was one of the most instructive of the session. It arose on an amendment to the bill inserted by the House, providing "That it shall be unlawful for any common carrier, subject to the provisions of this act, to carry refined oils and other petroleum products, cotton-seed oil, and turpentine for any shipper, in tank or cylinder cars, who shall own, lease, or control the same in any manner, except upon the condition that said carrier shall charge the same rate for the transportation of said products in wooden packages or barrels, in car-load lots, as in said tank or cylinder cars, the said tank and cylinder and said wooden packages and barrels being carried free in each case." This proposition was supported by Senator Sherman in a running debate filling three or four pages of the *Congressional Record*, in which the Ohio Senator was at his best. It is seldom that we find anything in the pages of that publication more logical, pointed, and convincing. In dealing with the Standard Oil Company Mr. Sherman was respectful and even friendly in the terms of his discourse, but nevertheless firm in his resolve to expose and, if possible, break down their practical monopoly in the distribution of oil throughout the country. In this matter he has failed for the present, the Senate having voted against the amendment of the House; but the discussion has awakened so much interest and attracted so much attention that the question cannot be looked upon as settled.

The facts in the case were brought out in an official way, in the case of Rice vs. the Illinois Central Railway, before the Inter-State Commerce Commission. The Standard Oil Company supplies its own tank cars and gets them hauled by the railroad companies, so that the rate for carrying its oil is less by perhaps 20 per cent. than the charge for oil carried in barrels. Other shippers of oil are either unable to pay for tank cars or are prevented from getting them, since the builders refuse to make any except for the Standard Company, lest they lose the trade of that powerful organization. After hearing the arguments and testimony, the Commission held that "it is properly the business of a carrier by railroad to supply the rolling stock for the freights he offers or proposes to carry; and if the diversities and peculiarities of traffic are such that it is not always practicable, and consignors are allowed to supply it for themselves, the carrier must not allow its own deficiencies in this particular to be made the means of putting at unreasonable disadvantages those who make use, in the same traffic, of the facilities it supplies." This interpretation of the law left it somewhat a matter of doubt how much, if anything, should be allowed by the railroad as a rebate to the Standard Company for the use of its cars. Of course it makes no difference to the Standard Company whether it gets its oil hauled for 20 per cent. less than the shipper in barrels, or whether it pays equal rates and gets a rebate of that amount for the use of its tank cars. The doubt seems to have been removed by a subsequent decision, quoted by Senator Cullom holding that no rebate could be allowed for the use of tank cars, but the decisions of the

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Commission are not law; they are only prima-facie evidence for the use of litigants. The amendment of the House to the inter-State bill was intended to remove all doubts and delays, by providing that the railroad companies shall either supply their own tank cars, or carry in barrels for exactly the same rate as they carry in tanks, per pound or gallon of oil.

It was objected on the other side that nearly all railroad companies hire rolling stock more or less, and pay for its use, and that to deny this privilege in the case of tank cars would be to make an unjust discrimination. Senator Harris of Tennessee put it strongly in this way: "I say, if one producer has invested a half-million dollars in tank cars and rolling stock, and another producer has not invested a dollar in any such thing, and the carrier is compelled to charge exactly the same price per gallon for transporting oil between these points, you have by law worked out a gross inequality and discrimination in favor of one and against the other." This argument would have been stronger if Senator Harris had answered the point made by Senator Reagan a moment before, that it is the prime and foremost duty of the railroad to supply itself with the means of transportation, and offer the same to all shippers alike. There is hardly any kind of freight upon which discriminations might not be devised if the Harris doctrine is allowed to prevail.

The most forcible objection to the House amendment was made by Senator Cullom, viz.: that this was special legislation engrafted upon a general law—legislating about oil and oil cars when the Inter-State Act dealt only with principles, leaving details to the Commission and the courts. As to oil transportation, Mr. Cullom read from another decision of the Commerce Commission, that of Scofield vs. the Lake Shore Railroad Company, that "the preference thus given to oil shipped in tank cars as against oil shipped in stock cars in car-load lots is, we think, unlawful, and must be regarded as forbidden by the act to regulate commerce." This was all that the House amendment sought to enact, and being presumably the law now, although it had not been so pronounced by a real court, Mr. Cullom was opposed to meddling with the matter at all by legislation.

To Mr. Cullom's objection that this was special legislation, Mr. Sherman replied by quoting from the first report of the Inter-State Commission, in which it was shown that there were "outside organizations" engaged in the business of transportation between the States, as for example tank-car companies, who were just as much tempted to disregard the principles of equity and justice as the railroad companies, and that the purposes of the Commerce Act could not be fully reached without bringing these secondary agencies under the same rules. In other words, the original act had been defective because Congress had lacked information. If the facts had been known in the beginning, they would have been provided for in the beginning by some clause like the pending amendment. Replying to several Senators who contended that the Standard Oil Company had reduced the cost of oil to consumers, and that the proposed amendment would tend to defeat the benevolent designs of the great Trust, Mr. Sherman trampled that nonsense out of all shape, showing that human nature is the same in the Standard Oil Company as everywhere else; that in matters of business it takes all it can get, and that if its competitors are crushed out, there will be no restraint upon its exactions. The House amendment was tabled by thirty-four yeas to eleven nays.

THE APOLOGY OF THE LONDON TIMES.

THE apology which the London *Times* has published for its performances in the matter of the Parnell letters has been generally pronounced unsatisfactory. It was as follows, after quoting and endorsing what the Attorney-General had said in court:

"Moreover, Mr. Parnell having, in the witness-box, stated that the letters attributed to him were forgeries, we accept in every respect the truth of that statement. In these circumstances we deem it right to express our regret most fully and sincerely at having been induced to publish the letters in question as Mr. Parnell's, or to use them in evidence against him. This expression of regret, we need hardly say, includes also the letters falsely attributed to Mr. Egan, Mr. Davitt, and Mr. O'Kelly. We must add that we firmly believed the letters to be genuine until the disclosures made by Pigott in the course of his cross-examination."

Of course this seems very tame, considering what the injury inflicted has been, but anything stronger or more emphatic would have been out of place. A man may properly make an expression of deep and heartfelt sorrow for great injuries which he has inflicted under a rash impulse, or under the pressure of a sudden and excusable mistake. But when you have pursued a man for two years with an accusation of complicity with assassins, based on forged letters; when you have treated his denials with scorn, and have loaded him with insult about three times a week during the whole of that period; when you have steadily refused to furnish him with the means of vindicating himself, by giving him the history of the documents; when by way of evidence you have offered him nothing but the testimony of "experts" that he lied when he denied his signature; and when you yourself, after all is over, have to confess that you never found out, even for your own satisfaction, where the letters came from, what can you *say* by way of atonement? What sufficient apology for such deliberate and persistent wrong was ever put in writing or expressed in speech? What was the form of excuse which inquisitors made when they found they had broken a man on the wheel by mistake? If that could be found, it would furnish the *Times* with a good model. In its absence we can think of nothing better than the apology the Montana lynchers made to the widow when they found they had hanged the wrong man for horse-stealing. "Madam," said the spokesman, "we must admit you've got the laugh on *us* this time." As matters stand, we think the *Times* has done well to say as little as possible, and to say it quietly and unostentatiously.

The sole duty the conductors have to perform in the matter is one which we can hardly expect from human nature, and that is to help Parnell in making preparations to bring to justice the editor, manager, and solicitor—Messrs. Buckle, Macdonald, and Soames. We ought, perhaps, to include the youth Houston, who supplied them with the letters, but there appears to be a general disposition to let him run—he is only twenty-two—as an inexperienced lad. Mr. Parnell, and the whole Liberal party behind him, owe it to themselves, and to everybody in all parts of the world who has sympathized with and supported them through this ordeal, to see that the men who played this nefarious game are punished in every way known to the law. That three such persons as they have shown themselves to be, should have been left in charge of such an engine of oppression and cruelty as the *Times*, is doubtless the fault of that rather absurd and pompous person the chief proprietor, Mr. Walter; but his responsibility is, of course, only remote and indirect. The three above named are the chief actors in the crime, and the exhibition of fatuity they have made ought not to be allowed to extenuate their offence any more than their calling themselves "a great journal" ought to shield them from the proper pains and penalities.

Some such calamity as this has been impending ever since Mr. Delane and Mr. Morris passed away, and the control of the paper, in fact as in law, passed directly into Mr. Walter's hands. It is, we believe, he who manned it with the wiseacres who have brought him and it so near ruin. Mr. Macdonald's exhibition of himself in the witness box, as a petulant, conceited, and rather silly person, must have been a curious revelation to the London public, who thought that Wisdom herself sat up at night in the *Times* office and saw the paper safely to press. His evidence showed that he considered it a master-stroke in journalism to print facsimiles of he letters on the day of the second reading of the Coercion Bill. After testifying, with almost asinine simplicity, that "six months, more or less, were occupied in investigating the bona-fide character of the documents," he, on his cross-examination, continued:

I may take it that on the 18th of April you were satisfied that the letters were genuine? Yes.

How long previously had you satisfied yourself? I believed the letters were genuine from the beginning.

Without any inquiry? Yes.

From their intrinsic qualities? Yes; from their internal qualities, from their contents. I thought the facsimile letter would be the sort of letter Mr. Parnell would be impelled to write under the circumstances.

Did you think the "make it hot for old Forster" was the sort of thing Mr. Parnell would write? Yes. Mr. Parnell frequently makes use of the expression "make it hot."

In Kilmainham Jail? Yes. Kilmainham Jail was at that time managed in such a way that the mere fact of Mr. Parnell's presence there would offer no impediment to his writing such a letter.

That is your opinion? It is a matter of proof.

You satisfied yourself of the genuineness of the letters some time before you published the facsimile? Yes.

Why did you select the 18th of April for the publication? Because I thought it was a proper occasion.

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Why? I thought it was a suitable time to make the public acquainted with the character of men who were prominent in public affairs. There were discussions going on in Parliament which made it an appropriate moment to publish the letters.

Discussions about what? Upon Irish affairs. Every journalist chooses his moment.

You chose the moment when the division on the second reading of Mr. Balfour's Crimes Bill was to take place? Yes.

Of course it makes little difference in what terms a man of this sort apologizes when he is found out.

We trust that, in the general uproar, the two "experts" who were waiting to testify that Parnell's signatures were genuine will not be overlooked. The Attorney-General tried to get their evidence in before Pigott was examined, but failed. They must now be thanking an overruling Providence for their escape from an exposure which would have been ignominious as well as droll. They seem to have overlooked the fact that traced writing gave their "science" nothing to work on except unsteadiness in the writing, and that all their lore about the comparison of the formation of letters would in this case have been wasted. They are probably now lying as quiet as possible, waiting for the storm to blow over.

A GERMAN VIEW OF ENGLISH ECONOMICS.

Prof. Cohn of Göttingen has an article in the January number of the *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung* on "The Present Condition of Political Economy in England and America." The title is in some respects misleading. The article says almost nothing about America and very little about the present day. It is, nevertheless, a valuable one, not merely on account of the many really acute things which it contains, but still more for what it indicates as to the point of view of the critic and the mental attitude of the German school.

One noticeable thing which distinguishes it from similar articles a few years ago, is the infrequency of allusion to the historical method. Cohn himself never committed the error of undervaluing abstract reasoning in the way that some of his associates did; but it is significant of a change of attitude among the Germans that Cohn should really say what he thinks. It has become obvious that the so-called historical method, as typified by Roscher, could not do what was claimed for it; that it was unfruitful in discovery, and only of moderate use in criticism. Inductive methods in political economy, as originally conceived by the German school thirty years ago, were very much like inductive methods in physical science as conceived by Lord Bacon—a sort of complicated system of bookkeeping wherein every fact should be entered in an economic ledger, but where there was no available means of arranging the facts in such a way as to make any use of them. Like Lord Bacon, the German historical school talked about induction beautifully, but their discoveries generally were made by an abandonment of their own method. The important change has been that they recognize the fact themselves. Cohn even criticises Jevons, and quite justly, for a failure to understand the relations of induction and deduction in political economy. "With all his mathematical exactness, Jevons makes the stupid logical error [professor of logic though he was] of confusing statistical methods with his mathematical method, when the two are precisely the opposite. The arithmetical side of statistics and the mathematical strictness of deduction are wholly different from one another. In making use of the much abused word 'exact' in application to both of them, he only lays bare the ambiguity of the word itself."

What then, it may be asked, is the difference between the English and the German schools at the present day? It has ceased to be one of method; it has become one of aims and of assumptions. The quotation from Carlyle with which the article is headed is significant: "One thing I do know, never on this earth was the relation of man to man carried on by cash payment alone. If at any time a philosophy of laissez-faire, competition of supply and demand, started up as the exponent of human relations, expect that it will soon end." The Germans object to the English school on the ground that it disregards moral elements in its postulates, and treats of material wealth as the main object of human pursuit. The difference of method has become comparatively small. Menger and Sax, with the whole Austrian school, have followed in the footsteps of Jevons. Cohn himself has used more abstract reasoning on the theory of prices than any English or American economist. In his care for verification he simply follows the example of the best of the English political economists, and breaks away from the traditions of the so-called historical school, whose generalizations were usually not verified at all. It is not to the method of English economists that he takes exception, but to their subject-matter; not to the use of deduction, but to the exclusion of moral considerations.

In one sense this objection is well-founded; in another it is not. It is true that a great many writers of the English school have given cause for these criticisms; but we doubt whether there is any justice in applying them to the school as such. As long as the science remains an abstract one, its propositions take a conditional form. If free competition exists, certain results will follow. The man who studies these results scientifically cannot be said to glorify wealth any more than the student of pure mechanics can be said to glorify brute force. It is only when people draw unwarranted consequences from their abstraction, and say that, because they have assumed that free competition exists, it generally does in fact, and ought to, when it does not, that they lay themselves open to severe criticism. For some reason it seems hard for the German to comprehend that the abstract science can be pursued without the practical errors resulting from it. The so-called Manchester school in Germany has carried these mistakes to their very worst consequences.

One instance where Cohn does conspicuous injustice is to Walter Bagehot. Bagehot was a man who thoroughly understood the facts with which he was dealing. He knew that he was reasoning within limits; he made no secret to himself of the limitations, but within the sphere where his assumptions were correct his results were wonderfully trustworthy. Cohn seems to think that Bagehot claimed more for his science than it actually accomplished, and contrasts him unfavorably with Mill in this respect. To us the contrast seems rather to the advantage of Bagehot. Mill, it is true, said a great deal more about the moral element and brought it considerably more into his reasoning; but the result of partially introducing morals and partially reasoning from another set of assumptions—making the two as it were into a kind of emulsion—is not scientific method, though it may be popularly useful. Nor has it stood the test of experience. A large part of what Mill wrote was cast aside by himself and must be cast aside by any thinker to-day; whereas, Bagehot's writings, whether in the form of articles in the *Economist*, of books on society, or essays on scientific method, are almost as valuable now as they ever were.

When a German writes on political economy, he almost always has a wide scheme of social philosophy in view. An Englishman generally has not. He is concerned with getting the explanation of certain facts which are before him. Bagehot could write social philosophy when he tried—witness his 'Physics and Politics'—and he did it remarkably well. But even in that case, he was concerned with explanations rather than ideals. He is much more intent on explaining the conditions which determine survival than on answering the question whether the results are for the good of the human race. He is not a philosopher any more than Darwin was a philosopher; he is a specialist dealing with his specialty, and anxious to make his explanations fit the facts. What conclusions philosophers may draw on the basis of his reasoning, is no concern of his.

With English political economy thus independent of philosophy, the work of a man like Ingram counts for very little in the history of the science. His address before the British Association, criticising past results from the point of the Comtist philosopher, aroused some discussion; his article on Political Economy in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' has reached a still wider circle of readers. But on actual economic thought its influence has been trifling. When he criticised economic methods as crude, he proposed to substitute the yet cruder methods of sociology. To speak of his work as in any sense whatever "*epochemachend*," is quite misleading. The fact that Cohn, in spite of his great familiarity with English writers, makes such an error, shows how hard it is for one nation to comprehend the political thought of another.

GUDBRAND VIGFUSSON.

The announcement comes from England of the death, at Oxford, of Gudbrand Vigfusson, the Scandinavian scholar, in his sixty-third year. Since the appearance, in 1855, of his first essay, Dr. Vigfusson's career has been, in his chosen field, one of altogether unprecedented literary activity. Text after text, whose preparation for the press has necessitated the most painstaking persistence and critical skill, has appeared with his name singly or as principal collaborator; extended lexicographical work has been done; essays have been written embodying a wider knowledge of the ancient literature of the North as a whole than has been possessed by any previous historian, and frequent contributions have been made to the proceedings of learned societies and to periodicals. In the death of Vigfusson not only England, but the world has lost one of its most indefatigable workers and the foremost Icelandic scholar of the day. Vigfusson's career is remarkable as well for what it saw accomplished as for its exemplification of the love of learning for learning's sake. His work was such as to command the attention of a public comparatively limited, and the recognition and emoluments that fell to him were, from the nature of the case, restricted in amount; but neither his interest nor his enthusiasm was allowed to flag, and his literary productiveness was continued almost up to the day of his death.

Vigfusson was born in 1827, at the farm-

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stead Frakkanes, on Broadfirth, in the west of Iceland. His father, Vigfus Gislason, was a peasant, rich in pedigree, like most of that sturdy class in Iceland, but poor in purse. After the preparatory course at the high school, then at Bessestad, Vigfusson went to the University at Copenhagen, in 1850, as a stipendiary of the Arna Magnusson foundation, which, since its institution in the last century, has done such inestimable service for the general cause of higher education in Iceland. In Copenhagen appeared his first literary work, 'Timatal,' written in modern Icelandic as a contribution to a collection of essays on the history of Iceland published, in 1855, by the Icelandic Literary Society. This treatise, while primarily intended only to furnish a complete chronology of the events recorded in the Icelandic sagas, really marked an epoch in the history of the old literature. Though the antiquity of the sagas had scarcely been seriously doubted, their claim to credence and their reliability as history had been called in question. In Vigfusson's essay all the sagas specifically Icelandic are considered, and the time they cover, the so-called "saga age," from 830 to 1031, is viewed in the light of the common material, which is found so to support and circumstantiate itself that incidentally one of the most potent arguments for the intrinsic worth of the old traditional material is formulated, once for all. Vigfusson's chronology has been in one or two instances superseded; as a whole, however, it is accepted as indisputably correct.

Other works now followed in rapid succession. In 1858 appeared the first volume (the second volume in 1878) of the 'Biskupa Sögur,' lives of the bishops of Iceland, in collaboration with Jon Sigurdsson. In 1860 were published volume xxvii of the 'Nordiske Oldskrifter,' containing several shorter sagas, all edited by Vigfusson; 'Fornsögur,' three old sagas, in collaboration with Professor Möbius of Kiel; and the first volume of the Book of Flatey, 'Flateyjarbok,' in connection with Professor Unger of Christiania. The 'Flateyjarbok,' now for the first time rendered accessible as a whole, is, in its completed form—a second volume appeared in 1862 and a third in 1868—one of the most valuable and well edited collections of historical sagas extant. It contains among its many sagas, short and long, one of the two accounts, called by Vigfusson the northern, of the discovery of this continent by the Norsemen.

Vigfusson's next work was an essay printed as a preface to the folk-tales of Iceland, which had been assiduously collected by Jon Arnason. In it he reviews the whole subject of Icelandic folk-lore, and forms thus one of the most important parts of the work. His next volume was the 'Eyrbyggja Saga,' of which Sir Walter Scott once wrote out a careful abstract; it appeared in Leipzig in 1864. This same year Vigfusson was called to England to enter upon the work which was to occupy him for many years, and which now stands the principal monument to his fame. Richard Cleasby, an Englishman of means and scholarly tastes, in his rambles about Europe had conceived the idea of a dictionary which should open up to the world the then practically inaccessible stores of the old Icelandic language and literature. Aided by an Icelandic amanuensis, in Copenhagen, some rather desultory work had already been done to carry forward his project, but Cleasby's death, in 1847, left the collected material in a chaotic condition, with really little accomplished. His heirs, however, came to the rescue with pecuniary aid, the Delegates of the Clarendon Press were interested in the undertaking, and Vigfusson was ultimately called to Oxford and assigned the task of completing the work. The dictionary did not appear as a whole until 1874, twelve years after Vigfusson entered upon its completion. Although his name occupies a subordinate place upon its title-page, it is, in reality, Vigfusson's work, and not Cleasby's, whose material, indeed, it was found in every case necessary to revise and even, in some instances, to discard as useless. The Cleasby-Vigfusson dictionary has done more, perhaps, than any other work to stimulate an interest in the study, in both England and America, of the language, and through it the literature, of Norway and Iceland. Its scope is the broadest, as it not only aims at full definitions, but at etymologies and abundant references; some of its explanations are short essays on history, law, and mythology. Vigfusson's genius is seen in the dictionary at its best. His knowledge of the old literature is, even for an Icelander who has made it his life study, simply stupendous in its minuteness and range. It must not, however, be overlooked that he had undertaken a more than herculean task in attempting to work out alone an exhaustive dictionary of a whole language. His etymologies are frequently only to be used with the most extreme caution, and his knowledge of the literature, if the condition can be imagined, was often too ready for an absolute accuracy of citation from a sometimes treacherous memory. As a whole it stands, nevertheless, as a monument of indefatigable labor and broad scholarship. It is safe to say that no other man could have performed the task so well.

Vigfusson's next important work was, again, a remarkable one. It was a much needed critical edition, based in part upon new material, of the most important of the family sagas of Iceland, the so-called 'Sturlungasaga,' issued, in 1878, in two volumes, from the Clarendon Press. What rendered it, however, particularly valuable to the student of Old Norse literature was the excursus, which the author calls the Prolegomena, prefixed to the first volume. These modestly named "observations" really constitute a detailed, if a short, history of the origin, authorship, purport, and literary value of the whole prose and poetical literature of the North, and in wealth of material and suggestiveness of idea far transcend anything at all on the subject that has preceded it. It is in the Prolegomena that Vigfusson first promulgates his now well-known hypothesis of the age and origin of the lays of the elder Edda, which, with one or two exceptions, he refers to Norse poets in the Orkneys and Shetlands at a time subsequent to the settlement of Iceland, and in which he sees a parallel development, in that part of Norse territory, to the prose saga in Iceland. Unfortunately, to the support of this and to not a few other no less daring suppositions Vigfusson can bring only ingenious surmise instead of the necessary evidence; and while he, no doubt, from his superior knowledge often sees further and more minutely than his less gifted fellow-laborers in many of his clever attempts to account for phenomena hitherto considered unaccountable, he can scarcely be soberly followed.

Vigfusson's next book, this time in collaboration with Mr. Frederick York Powell, with whom he was thereafter associated, was issued the succeeding year from the Clarendon Press. It was an 'Icelandic Prose Reader,' containing a variety of texts, with grammar and notes, designed for use as a text-book. The most ambitious work after the dictionary, and altogether the most remarkable for its breadth of purpose and the learning it involves of all the author's literary criticism, the 'Corpus Poeticum Boreale,' was the next to appear, in 1883, in two volumes, from the Clarendon Press—an exhaustive collection of the whole body of Norse poetry as contained, not only in the classical literature, the Eddas, the poems of the scalds, and the strophes scattered through the sagas, but as exhibited in the later literature of the Middle Ages, before the religious epic, in verse, but not poetry, had driven out almost everything else before it. With the poems themselves are complete prose translations into English, countless textual emendations, reference and explanatory notes without end; in many instances is given a lengthy excursus on literary history, rhetorical figures, whose overwrought complexity forms one of the chief stumbling blocks to an intelligibility of much of the scaldic poetry, chronology, and mythology. The whole is an elaboration of the suggestions in the Prolegomena, and carries still further the ideas of origin and authorship there first advanced. In it an attempt is made, for the first time in Old Norse poetry, to follow the comparative historical method, manifestly the only correct one if evidence, external and internal, is at hand to substantiate its assumptions. In the poems of the elder Edda, particularly, as they have come down to us, there is, unfortunately, no such evidence; and although Vigfusson's suppositions are supported by a familiarity only limited by the boundaries of the literature itself and by a poet's appreciation of the spirit of the original, qualities that have never been united to a like degree in a critic before, much of his theory is, and will long remain, only theory. That he has, on the other hand, often read deeper and truer than his critics, there can also be no doubt, and many of his daring suggestions will be found, in the light of subsequent discoveries, to be in reality but the foreknowledge of genius.

The 'Corpus Poeticum' is one of the greatest critical works in the literature of any language, and it very fittingly marks the culmination and virtually, at the same time, the end of Vigfusson's remarkable career. But one book succeeded it, 'Sigfred-Arminius, and Other Papers.' This last published work forms part of a number of short essays by Vigfusson and Powell issued, as a contribution from Oxford, in honor of the Grimm centenary, in 1885. As the title indicates, the principal paper is an attempt to identify the German Siegfried with the Roman Arminius. There are, however, of necessity, phonetic questions involved in the discussion of such a point, and what it suggests, that bring the author upon ground where he is not firmly footed, and the thesis cannot be accepted as proved. In addition to the foregoing, it is safe to assume that a mass of unpublished material will be found. For several years Vigfusson had been engaged upon the compilation of the 'Origines Islandiæ,' suggested in the Prolegomena, which is reported to be so nearly completed that it can be issued this year. It will be a fitting final tribute to his native land of one who has been proud to uphold the greatness of its unparalleled past.

Personally, Vigfusson was a quiet and unassuming man, who loved principally the companionship of his books, and regarded but little the formal requirements of society. To those who knew him well, and where he felt there was a genuine sympathy based upon mutual tastes, he was, however, a genial associate and the stanchest of friends. He lived a life of seclusion at Oxford, where twice distinction sought him out: in 1871, when he was made an honorary M.A. of the University of Oxford, and again in 1877, when the University of Upsala, at the celebration of its fourth centenary, conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of

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Philosophy. His particular claims to distinction and scientific recognition are based principally upon his work as literary critic and lexicographer. He was not a philologist, in its restricted sense, as is frequently proved by his etymologies and by the grammatical abstracts appended to the dictionary and to the 'Icelandic Reader.' About the phonetic refinements of the "young grammarians" he knew little and cared less, and modern scientific grammar, foundation and fabric together, was to him, accordingly, a sealed book. That he had his shortcomings as critic has already been pointed out. He is frequently too imaginative and sanguine to fortify himself as impregnably as modern criticism demands. His service, none the less, has been inestimable, intrinsically and for the stimulus of its suggestion, to the cause in which he labored. All in all, he is the one man in his generation who has done the most for the world's knowledge of the literature of the ancient Scandinavian North.

THE STUART EXHIBITION.

LONDON, February 10, 1889.

THE exhibition of the Royal House of Stuart, at the New Gallery, which opened with the new year, continues to be crowded with visitors daily. It is so eminently successful that there is some thought of its being followed by a Tudor Exhibition next winter. This is the first time that this complete collection of relics of the Stuart House has been shown together. Some portion of the objects exhibited here were at the Glasgow Exhibition this summer, but here we have pictures, personal relics, coins, medals, miniatures, seals, and autographs, all relating to the Stuarts and their faithful adherents. Among these objects there are things beautiful in themselves, works of art, ornaments and jewels, exquisite needlework, and also quite ordinary implements of daily use, interesting only because they have been touched or used by the royal fugitives, or connected in some way with the fortunes of the Stuarts. The authenticity of the relics may be depended upon. The Committee has been very rigorous in refusing anything of doubtful provenance, and in most cases the catalogue contains the history and pedigrees of the exhibits. It is clear, also, that the loyalty of the followers of the House of Stuart held these things belonging to them as almost sacred, and would not have parted with them for their intrinsic value, which in many cases would be but small. The chief promoters of the exhibition have been Lords Ashburnham, Wharncliffe, and Crawford, Mr. Magniac, Mr. James Doyle, and Mr. Scharf, of the National Portrait Gallery, besides many others.

Very noticeable for pure, clear painting are the portraits of James V. and his Queen Mary of Guise, parents of Mary Stuart, two half-length life-size figures in a balcony. The Queen is holding a pink and resting on a parapet; the King is touching a Holbein jewel hanging round his neck. The case containing drawings and miniatures of Mary Queen of Scots is particularly attractive. Every one is more or less conscious of having some clear idea of the fascinating woman whose charm was so fatal both to her admirers and to herself. The earliest portrait here is at the age of nine and a half, by François Clouet, or Janet, called Clouet III. This is a drawing on white paper in red and black chalks. There is a similar portrait near it of Francis II. of France at the age of four. At the side of the head of Mary is the inscription, "Marie royne descosse au le age de neuf ans et six mois Lan 1552 au mois de Juillet." This drawing of Mary is at too early an age to have any very marked individuality; the close-fitting coif, jewelled all round, and the rich ornaments of the dress, so carefully drawn, indicate how dexterous the artist was. These drawings in red and black chalk (of which there are other examples here, Magdalen of France, Francis II. as Dauphin, and still another inscribed "le roy françois Segond) belong to the collection of Castle Howard.

The most authentic portrait of Mary is the very fine miniature, by Janet also, lent by the Queen, from the royal collection of Windsor. This is a highly finished portrait, three-quarters length, in a pink dress slashed and embroidered with gold and pearls. The white collar is of the Medici shape; the hair is turned back in the usual Mary Stuart fashion, with a cap embroidered with pearls at the back of the head. This must have been taken while Mary was still in France. She looks about fifteen. One can understand that her face must have gained in refinement and mobility with womanhood. The cheeks are here fat, the expression remarkable for a submissive and rather shy look in the eyes; the long aquiline nose adds to the air of duplicity which one recognizes in all her portraits. The hands, with tapering fingers, are very characteristic. The other later miniatures of Mary are less careful, and all of much later date. "Le Deuil Blanc" is also supposed to be a portrait from life by Janet. The Queen is in white mourning for the Dauphin; a close-fitting French cap, showing the curling hair, surrounds the face, a wimple of white lawn falling from the ears covers the shoulders, and is gathered in folds under the chin, showing the dark dress beneath the transparent veil. Two photographs from other drawings of Janet in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris show that Mary's reputation for beauty must have been greatly due to her vivacity and intelligence and power of fascination, rather than to actual beauty of features. The hair, of which the Queen sends a lock, is of a beautiful golden hue, as in Janet's miniature, and her complexion is said to have been dazzling. There are several portraits of Mary, full length, ascribed to Zucchero, to whom she may have sat; but their genuineness as to painter or sitter is confessedly doubtful. The memorial portraits of the Queen, of which there are very many here, are interesting, especially the one of P. Oudry, lent by the Earl of Darnley, and the one lent by the trustees of Blair's College, containing in the background a representation of her execution from the notes of Burleigh's agent, an eye-witness of the scene in the hall at Fotheringay.

Among the relics is the book of hours Mary used on the scaffold, referred to in the account of the circumstances given to Cecil. "All the assembly, save the Queen and hir servantes, sayde the prayer after Mr. Deane as he spake it, during which prayer the Queen sat upon hir stoole, having her agnus Dei, crucifixe, beades, and an office in Latynn. Thus furnished with superstitious trumpery, not regarding what Mr. Deane sayde, shee began verie fastly with tears and a lowde voice to praye in Lattin." There are other books of hours illuminated, and an especially beautiful psalter given by the Queen to Mary Seton, one of the "Queen's Maries." The handbell of silver gilt she was permitted to retain at Fotheringay Castle, mentioned in the inventory of her goods as a "Closchite," is here. According to the fashion of her time, it used to stand on her writing-table. We see also a silver draught-board she gave to Mary Seton. Some leading strings embroidered by Mary for her son, James VI. of Scotland, show her great skill at her needle. Other larger pieces of needlework with which she beguiled the weary hours of captivity are likewise here; we remark especially two curtains, a counterpane, and a valence worked on green velvet by Mary and the Countess of Shrewsbury, while the Queen was at Tatbury in charge of the Earl of Shrewsbury, who treated her with "such care and concern" that she felt safe in this captivity, and worked all day at these complicated embroideries.

The most beautiful of the relics of Mary Stuart is the Limoges ciborum and cover, known as the "Cup of Malcolm Canmore": it is in copper gilt, elaborately enamelled in champlevé. On the bowl are six Old Testament subjects in medallions; on the cover likewise six subjects from the New Testament. This ciborium is said to have belonged to Malcolm Canmore, King of Scotland, 1056-1092, and was given by Mary to Sir James Balfour of Burleigh, one of her stanchest adherents. There is also a Limoges tazza, painted by Jean Court dit Vigier, with the arms of Queen Mary and the Dauphin crown, besides many personal trinkets, rings, seals, clothing, etc. There is a portrait of Darnley as a youth, which is convincing as a likeness of a very pretentious weakling: vain, headstrong, and unhealthy is the impression one carries away. A miniature of Bothwell, with a scar on his cheek, fiercely looking round at the spectator, would go far to prove that in his case history has represented him as he was. In the gallery are letters from Mary's own hand, though some are not considered authentic. The most interesting is the one written to Henry III. of France six hours before her execution, in which she begs the King to gather from her attendants the details of what has passed, and commends her son to his care.

Of the so-called Vandyke portraits here exhibited many are replicas, or copies of a later date even. It is unfortunate that the committee were unable to secure the originals, and accepted so many copies in place of them. The large canvas of Charles I., Henrietta Maria, and two elder children is a replica of the Queen's picture now at Windsor, the first portrait Vandyke painted in England. The three heads of Charles I. painted and sent to Bernini in Rome to guide him in his bust of the King are here in the original by Vandyke, lent by the Queen. They are too well known from the engraving to need comment. There are portraits by Lely and Dobson, also of the unfortunate King, showing him less romantic and distinguished-looking than in the Vandyke portraits. Of these latter the Earl of Warwick sends one of the several versions of the King mounted on his famous white charger going under an arch bareheaded; Monsieur St. Antoine in red holds the King's helmet. This is not nearly as fine as the National Gallery portrait of the same size. Of Henrietta Maria there are many pictures. The most beautiful is a three-quarters length in a blue satin dress, leaning on a table with her right arm, and holding roses in her lap with her left hand. An *amorino* flying overhead is about to crown the Queen. The jewels fastening the blue satin sleeves over the white lawn undersleeves are gold doves with breasts of dark precious stones. This seems to have been a favorite portrait, for we have a replica of the same in green dress here also. In strong contrast to this pretty, rather insipid, face, with large eyes *à fleur de tête*, is the aged portrait of Henrietta Maria, by Claude Le Févre. The face, worn with suffering, is in three-quarters, and the sad, faded eyes gaze towards us with a wistful passing look. The mouth has all the severity of a bigot in its stern, thin outline. She wears a black lace on her head, a falling white collar and cape over her shoulders; and in her left

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hand she holds a book, 'The Advantage of Death.' It is a portrait which tells a sad story of a long life of expiation and sorrow. A case in the same gallery contains the clothing worn by Charles I. at his execution, the prayer-book he used on the scaffold, the two shirts still blood-stained. We are told that on account of the extreme coldness of the morning, the King, not desiring to be considered shivering from fear, put on a second shirt. A very fine one with lace and tiny knots of ribbon; his embroidered glove, a piece of his beard, a lock of his hair—all these relics have been carefully treasured by the different families to whom they have belonged, and are now exciting more attention than anything else in the exhibition.

Of the children of Charles I. there are innumerable portraits and miniatures, as also of Charles II. and Catherine of Braganza in a variety of fancy attitudes. In one the little lady is represented as St. Catherine with her wheel and palm. Sir Peter Lely has in this instance considerably lengthened his sitter to the conventional saintly stature. This portrait was painted for Lord Clifford of the Cabal, to whom the Queen presented also the earrings in which she sat. Charles II. at a ball at the Hague is one of the few good and interesting pictures of this period here. Charles, in a flat-trimmed black beaver hat and black dress, is dancing a minuet with a lady in gold-embroidered dress with blue petticoat. The company is looking on, and we see in an inner room a supper table at which people are feasting, the King himself in the post of honor. Of the subsequent Stuarts, James II., Mary of Modena, Prince James Francis Edward, known as the old Pretender, and Princess Maria Clementina Sobieska, Prince Charles Edward and Princess Louisa of Stolberg, and Prince Henry Benedict, Cardinal Duke of York, there are innumerable portraits, in miniature and life size in oil, at many ages, in many attitudes—all very third-rate productions as art, interesting only historically. There is a portrait of Flora Macdonald, in the background of which is written a Latin inscription signed "W. Robertson," referring to the escape of Prince Charles Edward from his pursuers in the disguise of "Betty Burke," the supposed maid-servant of Flora Macdonald. There is a case specially devoted to relics of Flora, and there is a portrait of Charles Edward in the disguise of Bettie Burke. Of this prince, whose earlier days inspired so much enthusiasm and devotion, there are too many relics. Some are quite without value—for instance, a gridiron given him to hold while hiding in some kitchen in the highlands.

The diptych from Holyrood, formerly in the Church of the Holy Trinity, Edinburgh, merits very careful examination. It is supposed by competent judges to be by Van der Goes, although the learned Director of the National Portrait Gallery has discovered in an angle of Margaret of Denmark's head-dress, a principal figure in one of the compartments, four letters, P. R. A. T., which he supposes to be Pratt, as there are books and records showing the existence of two painters by the name of Pratt at Stirling in 1497 and 1502. The meaning of those letters is certainly doubtful. The manner of painting, the exquisite finish, the careful treatment of detail, the type of the angel blowing the bellows in the St. Cecilia compartment, the full harmony of color, and the firm drawing, all remind us forcibly of the picture of the Portinari family in Santa Maria Nuova at Florence, by Van der Goes. The diptych has suffered from scourings and skinnings, which in some parts have destroyed the last glazings, and injured the painting. The first compartment shows James III. of Scotland (1453–1488) and his son, afterwards James IV., both kneeling. The figures are half life-size. The King wears royal robes of red brocaded with gold, under a purple mantle lined with ermine, and an ermine cape. Before him is a desk, on which is an open book. His son, in scarlet and ermine, kneels bareheaded behind him with hands clasped in prayer. St. Andrew, in green drapery, his cross saltire behind him, is presenting the King to the Holy Trinity on the back of this panel. In this composition the head of God the Father is rather Byzantine in character. He is in a red robe, on a golden throne, holding in his arms the crucified and agonized Christ, emaciated and stiff as in so many Flemish representations of the moment when he was taken down from the cross. The Father's mantle is lined with blue; the throne is on the clouds, and golden light surrounds it; the Holy Ghost hovers above. The crystal ball of dominion is at the foot of the throne. On the other panel we have Margaret of Denmark, wife of James III., kneeling to our left, at a desk covered with red, emblazoned with her arms in a lozenge impaling Scotland. Her red bodice is embroidered with gold. She wears an ermine mantle and a black kirtle fur-trimmed. The book before her is open and very beautifully illuminated. A coif enriched with pearls, and her crown, are on her head; her dress, too, has a yoke of gold and precious stones. St. George in full armor stands behind the Queen, holding a banner and presenting her to the Holy Trinity. On the reverse of this volet, St. Cecilia sits beside a small organ, playing from a book of music before her. An angel at the back is working the bellows. In the foreground kneels Sir Edward Boucle, Provost of Trinity College, Edinburgh, for whom, it would seem, this diptych had been painted. One sees his arms azure, three buckles or, parti per chevron argent, on St. Cecilia's seat. It is supposed that in the saint we have the portrait of the foundress of the College, Mary of Gueldus, Queen of Scotland.

Mr. F. G Stevens has supplied the catalogue with historical notes on the pictures and relics, and information as to the provenance of each object. Mr. Grueber, Mr. Jenner, and Mr. Holmes have treated respectively of medals, manuscripts, printed books, and miniatures.

SICILIAN ARCHÆOLOGY.

PALERMO, January 25.

BUT for the irruption of the Normans into Sicily, the island would still be Magna Græcia, and even with the traces of that invasion it is more Greek than Italian in most respects. Invasions in general, and especially by western races, have in most cases brought into the east of Europe better conditions of civilization and firmer ideas of law; but in Sicily the remedy was perhaps overdone, for the effects produced in other parts of the kingdom are here by reaction much in retard. An officer of the Italian garrison said to me lately, speaking from an experience of different parts of the State, that Sicily was a century behind the other provinces. Certainly before the Italian Government took possession of it this was true, and to a degree it must still be admitted that the island is the most backward of all Italy, and modern civilization can only be said to have been established since the railways and bersaglieri have made the repression of brigandage possible. When I was first here, not many years ago, the road to Monreale, only five miles from Palermo, was not safe to travel, and was patrolled by squads of bersaglieri at intervals of half a mile; but I believe the present condition of the island to be as secure as that of any part of the peninsula.

The persistence of the antique habits and the intense conservatism of the Sicilians, and in fact of all the provinces of the ancient Magna Grecia, I believe to be due largely to the obstinate, stereotyped character of the Greek race, intensified, perhaps, by the admixture of the more Oriental elements, Saracenic, etc., which obtained here as it did not in the continental provinces. There is, however, a curious similarity between the Sicilian and the New Hellene—the absence of refined tastes and of adaptability of character; the want of practical common sense and appreciation of veracity; an extraordinary acuteness in the details of business and shortsightedness in the great affairs (traits common to both), as well as the active brain and alertness, so different from the north Italian. But there is a far greater indifference to progress than in Greece, and, so far as I can judge, not the same thirst for knowledge, which I should be inclined to attribute to the influence of the Catholic church, so different from the Orthodox, and so much more powerful in its control of the individual, and naturally in its repression of individuality, the most remarkable trait of the Greek of Greece proper. But the resemblance is still striking even to the casual observer, and to the traveller there is a reminder in the deficiency in the means of communication and accommodation, in which respect he is little better off than in Greek localities. The consequence is, that we know less of the archæology of Sicily than of any other part of Italy or of Greece. The great temples of Girgenti, Segesta, and Selinunte have been known for many years, but are only now fully excavated and fully visible, while the prehistoric traces are still unknown, or unstudied adequately.

It has been a moot question, therefore, among the Italian archæologists, whether the traces of the Pelasgic occupation which forms so important a part of the prehistoric record of Italy had ever extended to Sicily. With regard to one point, the site of the ancient Cephalœdium, now Cefalù, there has been a dispute, and I have just returned from an examination of the remains there, which has shown me how vague are the ideas carried away from any object of antiquity by even a scientific observer who has not been accustomed to classify and compare the class to which it belongs. I was doubly disappointed in the results of my search, first in finding nothing of what I had been led to expect by the account given me, and, secondly, in finding most valuable indications of which I had not suspected the presence. The site, to a student of prehistoric archæology, is an extremely interesting one, and though the evidences of a Pelasgic colonization are not conspicuous, they are sufficient and unique. The ancient city was built on a point of the hard limestone of which the hills about here are formed; this point terminated in a spit, behind which lay a long sand beach. From this nearly level site the ground rises slightly for a few hundred feet to the foot of a massive bastion of rock, an outlying spur of the main chain of hills in the interior, but separated from the nearest hills by nearly a mile, and presenting on every side except one an inaccessible cliff, constituting a natural fortification, to which access was only possible by one break in the cliff. This wall is from three to five hundred feet in height, and about a mile in circumference. Across the space where the break occurs, forming a curtain from bastion to bastion, is a high wall of mediæval construction, but in which are stones of ancient workmanship, evidently the restoration of an ancient defence.

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Inside of this enclosure is a cistern of an extremely interesting character; and though the manner of its construction is not by any technical test certainly referrible to the Pelasgic epoch, I have found similar reservoirs in several ancient and abandoned sites, and am disposed to assign them generally to prehistoric builders. There is one in the central enclosure of the Larissa of Argos, of importance, but not of the magnitude of this. They are utilizations of the natural fissures or caverns in the limestone rock, enlarged rudely and cemented so as to hold water; and in this case the cement seems to have served until comparatively modern times, as mediæval structures over the opening at the top show it to have been used during the later occupation. It may be twenty feet wide and deep, even partially filled up as it is by rubbish, and nearly a hundred long, with (at the upper end, where the crevice narrows) a stairway made out of the solid rock apparently; but as there is no means of access to the passage, the rock above having fallen in and obstructed the descent, the examination was of the most unsatisfactory character, and must go for what it is worth. But further on, and in such a position in relation to the enceinte of the present, and necessarily of the ancient fortifications, if such existed, is a fragment of what I must consider a palace of excellent and marked polygonal construction; a wall with a rather elaborate doorway admitting to a passage or hall, inside which are, at right and left, two similar doors, both utilized in the construction of a mediæval house, and one of which still opens into a vaulted chamber of brick—the wall itself being also surmounted by a portion of the mediæval structure. It is to this utilization of the old work that its preservation is due. It is of the later Pelasgic work, with some architectural decoration of a simple kind and such as could be executed in the neolithic age—a doorway slightly narrowing upwards, and a straight lintel like the gates of Mycenæ and Alatri, but not higher than a modern house door. Intending to return the next day, when I hoped the sun would serve to photograph and measure the monument, I neglected to make any drawing or measurement; and as the next day the rain came on worse than before (we have had ten days of it), I had to leave it with no exact record. The quarters in the town were such that a needless prolongation of our visit was too severe a penalty to pay for my memoranda, and we came away in the rain the day after our examination. However, the attribution of the structure to the period to which I have assigned it is beyond question, from the character of the work, at once unlike the Phœnician remains in the island, and the early Hellenic of the Greek colonies, and even earlier work in Greece proper.

The lower city gives even more conclusive testimony, for the entire circuit of the ancient wall can be followed by the Pelasgic foundations, which are in the greater part of it still standing, overbuilt by Hellenic and mediæval work, but still showing at intervals grand fragments of the most solid and ponderous "cyclopean" (as the unworked stone is conveniently designated). Out from the rock on which the town is built gush, one on each side of the town, two rivulets of crystal water, furnishing the supply to the inhabitants. One, that in the largest use, issues in a huge pool of considerable apparent depth, but filled to a certain height by the fragments of the vases which ill fortune has sacrificed on the spot. I wondered if this was not a modern form of the ancient offerings made to the deity of the fountain; for the cleanliness of the place to which the water-carriers came was extraordinary for an Italian town, and there was not a trace of anything but potsherds to be seen in the pool. Of these the quantity was enormous, while none were thrown into the sea, as they might have been. The other fountain was in another sense still more interesting, for the original passage by which the founders of the city had provided for the water-drawers, with its walls of cyclopean structure, still serves for the maidens to go down to the stream; and a dozen of them, more or less, were chattering and crowding on the narrow stone staircase between the door and the water.

The conditions of existence in Cefalù are probably, on the whole, more closely coincident with those of the extreme antiquity of the Italic populations than in any locality we shall find in the realm. Nothing can have changed much except names and other words. The shipping of the town was drawn up on the beach as it would have been in B. C. 1000, and, so far as the lower town is concerned, there is no probability of any further modifications of the external condition than those which grow out of the change in the method of building consequent on the use of mortar; so that the original wooden house of the early Italic populations has become a rude and, to our sense, comfortless stone structure.

Those who visit Cefalù do so in general from an interest in the Norman cathedral of Roger I. (a structure of which an architect can speak more authoritatively than I), or to see its mosaics, which are extremely interesting and very early, probably the work of Byzantine artists. In ecclesiastical history the church is famous as the occasion of the suit in which Bishop Ardouin and the Emperor Frederick II. figure, and the record of which has been published by E. Winkelmann (Innsbruck, 1884) as an episode in the life of the Emperor. Cefalù was then, and still is, the richest diocese in Sicily, its revenues not having been secularized by the Italian Government, owing to its ranking technically as a parish; but its wealth was not then regulated by the same strict construction of the law as now it is, and the process of Bishop Ardouin is one of the curiosities of the literature of the Church of the Middle Ages. Winkelmann drew his text from a copy in the National Library at Paris, but the director of the museum of Palermo, Signor Salinas, in searching the archives of the cathedral during the present restoration, has discovered the original parchment record of the trial. As architecture, this and the other Norman churches in the island, though extremely interesting, have not to me the interest of those of the Norman dynasty at Caen, owing to what seems to be a corruption of the canons of the style—as if the Sicilian churches had been the work of journeymen, or of architects who had to follow a style which was not their own.

As a practical hint to those who come to Sicily, I may say that a visit to the town and cathedral had better be made by the early train from Palermo (the railway now being finished to Cefalù), with the return the same day, for a night passed in the hotel is far from desirable. The filth and primitiveness of the place make a short stay imperative.

W. J. S.

VOLTAIRE AND THE DUCHESSE DE CHOISEUL.

PARIS, February 16.

M. GASTON MAUGRAS, who has published several interesting volumes on Galiani, on Mme. d'Épinay, on the life of Voltaire at Ferney, in collaboration with M. Lucien Perey, gives us now a volume written by himself alone on the relations between the Duchesse de Choiseul and Voltaire. The book has been edited with much care, and has a most agreeable portrait of the charming little Duchess, taken from the original, which is in the possession of Count de Ludre—a pastel made at the time of the marriage of the Duchess, and given by her to her cousin, Count de Ludre, a *maréchal de camp* of the King's armies.

The Duc de Choiseul is well known; nobody better personified the amiable qualities as well as the defects of his age. Count Gleichen, the Danish Minister to France, paints him as "good, noble, frank, generous, *galant*, liberal, proud, audacious, fiery." He was full of wit, and very seductive, though not handsome. His wife can be opposed to those who charge the eighteenth century with universal corruption. Her virtue was never attacked, and she remained all her life a model wife. Walpole has much contributed to enlarge her reputation; he speaks often of her in his correspondence, and paints her, in the most charming terms, as the most amiable and graceful creature that ever came out of an enchanted egg. Mme. du Deffand said of her: "It is a pity she is an angel; I should prefer her to be a woman. She has only virtues—not a weakness, not a defect." When the marriage took place (in 1755) Choiseul was already thirty-five years old; his wife was only seventeen. Louise Honorine Crozat du Châtel had a dowry of a million of revenue.

She was passionately in love with her husband, and always preserved for him a sort of adoration; she believed him to be a great political genius. "I assure you," she wrote to Mme. du Deffand (May 13, 1770), "that he is the greatest man this century has produced. He is so good-natured that people become familiar with him, and do not remark the superior talents and the sublime qualities which his modesty covers; they will be recognized when he is no more, and he will be much greater in history than he appears to us." The Duchesse de Choiseul seems to have looked upon her husband as Lady Beaconsfield did in our time on Lord Beaconsfield. History has not quite ratified her judgment, but the definitive history of the eighteenth century has not yet been written. At the present moment, Choiseul does not appear to us a great political genius, though he certainly was a man of superior abilities.

Choiseul's sister played a great part in his life. She was a proud Amazon, and had great power over him; she looked more like a man than a woman. He married her to a Duc de Gramont, who was a great libertine and very disreputable; three months after the marriage she separated from her husband, but kept the title of Duchess and a magnificent revenue. There was, of course, a rivalry between Mme. de Gramont and Mme. de Choiseul; but they found a sort of *modus vivendi*, and contrived to live together in peace. Choiseul owed his great fortune to Mme. de Pompadour, as well as his marriage, which had brought him an immense fortune. His various properties yielded him as much as 700,000 livres of revenue. On the death of the favorite he was able to maintain himself in power till Louis XV. chose a new one, in the person of Mme. du Barry. He was one of those who were not willing to adopt this low mistress, whom the King had much difficulty in imposing on the court. Mme. de Gramont was very violent against Mme. du Barry. Choiseul tried as much as he could to prevent her from being presented; but Mme. du Barry triumphed, and her presentation took place on April 22, 1769. Mme. de Choiseul and Mme. de Gramont were not invited to the ceremony.

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We read in an inedited letter published by Gaston Maugras that "Lycoris [Mme. du Barry] is fast approaching the moment when the Lord will bid her: 'Sede a dextris meis donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum.'" Among these enemies were the wife and sister of "the man so powerful to-day, and who to-morrow will perhaps be nothing." The prediction was verified. The King in person attempted to reconcile the favorite with Choiseul, to whom he was accustomed, and whom he did not like to lose. "You conduct my affairs well," he wrote to him; "I am satisfied with you; but beware of the givers of advice. . . . You know Mme. du Barry; she is pretty; I am pleased with her. . . . She has no hatred towards you; she knows your talents, and does not wish you ill." Choiseul was intractable. Mme. du Barry found her instrument in the Chancellor Maupeou, who was quarrelling with the Parlement of Paris. Choiseul had always supported the cause of the Parlements. On the 24th of December Choiseul received an order from the King which exiled him to Chanteloup, his country-house; twenty hours only were given him to make his preparations.

The exile of Choiseul was a *coup d'état*. Paris was thrown into real consternation. Choiseul's departure was changed almost into a triumph; the Duke and Duchess left the capital amid the applause of the people. The philosophers, who were protected by Choiseul, made a great noise, and Voltaire wrote verses in favor of the Minister, who had extended to him his powerful influence in Switzerland. Voltaire had quarrelled with Geneva, and had established himself at Ferney, in the *pays de Gex*, a small district between the Jura and Switzerland. He had established there manufactures of silk, lace, and watches; Choiseul had given his manufactures the benefit of free trade with the other provinces of France.

Chanteloup had been built in 1744 for Mme. des Ursins. Choiseul bought it in 1763, and had made an exchange with the King of the Marquisate of Pompadour, and various other estates, for the forest and castle of Amboise. (Under the Restoration, Chanteloup, which almost touches Amboise, belonged to the Duke of Orleans. The castle of Amboise is now the property of the Comte de Paris, while the greater part of the forest belongs to his aunt, Princess Clementine of Saxe-Coburg.) Chanteloup, with the immense forest of Amboise, was a splendid domain, and Choiseul lived in it in royal style. The first courtiers who asked for permission to go to Chanteloup received this answer: "I neither forbid it nor allow it." This was taken for a tacit permission, and a pilgrimage to Chanteloup became the fashion. The hospitality of the Choiseuls was boundless: there were every day three tables served besides the Duke's. To give an idea of the expense of Chanteloup, I will only say that every month the butcher had to kill thirty sheep; four thousand chickens were needed every year.

The struggle between the royal power and the Parlement continued. Maupeou, the Chancellor, began the war fiercely; he dismembered the Parlement of Paris and created new courts in many places; he abolished the venality of the judicial functions. On the 13th of April, 1771, the Parlement of Paris was definitively suppressed by order of the King, and a new Parlement, composed of the nominees of Maupeou, was installed. This change was applauded by the philosophers. Voltaire had often attacked the venality of the judiciary; the old Parlements had not been lenient to the men of letters. Voltaire tried in vain to separate the cause of Choiseul from the cause of the Parlement; he did not like to seem ungrateful to the former, but he praised Maupeou to the skies. Speaking of Choiseul, he said: "I am like France: I owe much to this great minister"; speaking of Maupeou: "M. de Maupeou has covered himself with glory; he has rendered the kingdom the most important service. Before six months have passed, everybody will bless the Chancellor for having rid us of three hundred *procureurs*" (June 24, 1771). Voltaire wrote a number of pamphlets in praise of Maupeou, and his enthusiasm inspired his enemies to produce these verses:

> "Ne t'arme plus, Fréron, des traits de la satire;
> De l'infâme Voltaire oserais-tu médire
> Après qu'en bas flatteur il brûle son encens
> Sur l'autel détesté du plus vil des Séjans?"

"Oh, what an abomination is this Voltaire!" exclaimed Mme. de Choiseul when she heard that he asked that a civic crown should be given to the Chancellor. In vain did Voltaire send the most amiable and flattering letters to Chanteloup: his protestations of friendship and devotion were despised, he was denounced as a traitor. In her correspondence, Mme. de Choiseul was very cautious; she never said a harsh word of Voltaire. She wrote to Mme. du Deffand: "Say to M. de Voltaire that falling from power does not deprive people of taste, and that we preserve the same admiration for him; but that the circumspection which our position requires does not allow us to have any commerce with such a celebrated man; that his silence is the greatest attention which he can show to our situation, and the mark of friendship on his part of which we shall be most sensible." From that moment Voltaire ceased to try to justify himself directly, but in all his letters to D'Argental, Marmontel, and others, we see him preoccupied with the Choiseuls, and trying to prove that there was no relation, no connection, between their cause and that of the Parlements.

Louis XV. died on May 10, 1774. Maupeou was immediately exiled, and the ancient Parlement was recalled. The Choiseuls returned to Paris, but he was not recalled to the Ministry. Louis XVI. did not like him, on account of his excessive prodigality. When Voltaire came to Paris, in 1778, the Choiseuls did not make him any visit, and Voltaire died without being reconciled with them. In 1784 the financial embarrassments of the Choiseuls became so great that they were obliged to sell their magnificent hôtel. They were soon afterwards obliged to sell Chanteloup. Louis XVI. generously lent four millions to the Duc de Choiseul. In 1785 the Duke became very ill, and died on the 9th of May. Faithful to the habits of all his life, he left very generous legacies to all his friends. The Duchess obeyed all his wishes, guaranteed all the payments, and herself retired to the convent of the Récollettes in the Rue du Bac, where she lived in a small apartment with a single servant. She paid 300,000 écus every year to the creditors of her husband till the Revolution. Her conduct during the Revolution was worthy of her. All her friends became the victims of the Revolution, and she herself was arrested in 1793. She was so much liked by the poor people of her quarter that they put in a petition for her release. She became ill in prison; her sister-in-law, Mme. de Gramont, died on the scaffold (April 17, 1794). Mme. de Choiseul was left to live in poverty, in the utmost isolation. She died on December 3, 1801, in a miserable house, without a relation, without even a friend to assist her. Her body was thrown into the *fosse commune*. And so ended a charming woman, who had been the queen of the most elegant and refined society, who had brought to her husband a princely fortune, and who had, in a time of great corruption, remained spotless and irreproachable.

Correspondence.

TWO MORE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: (1.) Our English cousins, when they see how silently and smoothly public affairs go on in this country, are sometimes inclined to attribute it to our system of government by committees. They will have a chance now to see how they like it. We can furnish here some fine specimens of organized anarchy, but nothing to surpass the new English County Councils.

The city of London, for all administrative purposes, except Education, Poor Laws, and Police, is henceforward to be under the rule of a council of one hundred and fifty persons, the majority elected in sections for three years, and the rest elected by the others for terms of six years. There is absolutely no leadership or guiding authority, all members being perfectly equal and independent of each other and of any power outside. They do, indeed, elect a chairman and a deputy chairman, but these are and can be nothing but presiding officers, like the Speakers of the Commons and of Congress, or the moderator of our town meeting. They also elect a nominal executive agent, but he will be only a tool in the hands of factions in committees.

The *Spectator* observes with regret that the Council has begun at once to act by Executive Committees. Of course it has—it could not possibly do anything else; and those committees must either be elected by the body or appointed by the Chairman—two methods of which it would be hard to say which is the worst. Says the *Spectator*: "The offset of that system is, that nothing is ever done vigorously, and that responsibility disappears." "The use of committees is the very secret of corruption, and makes administrative efficiency almost impracticable." If this is true, it is rather a serious reflection that this whole country, from the national down through the State governments to the smallest and last-made city, is governed entirely and exclusively in just that way. The *Spectator* suggests as an alternative the formation of a cabinet of seven persons dependent upon the support of the majority. But the advocates of the English parliamentary system maintain, and with justice, that the only defence and possibility of existence for a ministry thus exposed is to be able to hold the rod of dissolution over the constituent body. It is just this power which enables the English Ministry to keep its high character, and the effect of the absence of this power is wretchedly shown in the French Chambers to-day. In the case of the City Council it does not exist.

Another thing to be demonstrated is the effect of such an institution as this Council in running down the quality of public men. It begins with Lord Rosebery, Chairman, and Sir John Lubbock, Deputy Chairman; but where it will end is quite another matter. With the prospect of unlimited talk, the Council has proceeded to "hire a hall," and one member has already called another "no gentleman," while a third has characterized a fourth as a "traitor." And when after some years a pandemonium of extravagance and jobbery breaks out, it cannot even be charged to universal suffrage, because the Council is elected by the rate-payers—a restriction which

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many persons here regard as our only hope of salvation.

It is a beautiful saying of La Rochefoucauld that there is something in the misfortunes of our best friends which is not wholly unpleasing to us; and those who enjoy the luxury of lamentation over our own shortcomings, may find fresh stimulus in watching the progress of the English County Councils.

(2.) Among the many wise provisions of the Federal Constitution, not the least is that for a single executive head, with power of appointment of subordinate officials. It was the only way to secure efficiency and responsibility in administration. Congress, however, as soon as it met, proceeded at once, after its kind, to deprive both the President and his Cabinet of all public share in the guidance of policy or legislation, and indeed of influence of any kind, unless exercised like that of any private interest—upon committees through the lobby—and so to paralyze both brain and hand. The result is curiously shown in the speculations of the last three months as to Mr. Harrison's Cabinet. Nobody imagines that it is a question of great national officials who are to exercise an important influence upon the policy or destinies of the country. It is only whether they shall be personal friends or political supporters who contributed to the election, or so selected as to "recognize the claims" of particular States or sections. A Cabinet position, like all our other offices, is not a question of something to do, but of something to get. The Department of State alone excites some intrinsic interest, and that is largely a nervous dread, lest, from its want of public responsibility, it may drag the country into some false position in foreign relations. Just think how different it would be if there was really a question of statesmen; if it was felt that when Congress meets next December, these national officials were to bring forward publicly plans for the management of their several departments, to discuss these plans with individual members in open session, and were held to answer questions and entitled to give opinions as to the details of administration and the effect of laws! Would not the public interest be of a somewhat different kind? G. B.

Boston, March 2, 1889.

THE PROPAGANDA OF FREE TRADE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Your correspondents have suggested several ways in which the light of free trade may be let in upon the darkness of protectionist farmers. My experience brings me to the conclusion of Mr. Jessup, who says in his note in the *Nation* of January 31 that the farmer is acted upon by local events and local causes. He does not think beyond them—too often he cannot if he would. If he is born a protectionist, a protectionist he stays. The same may be said, of course, of other classes. I am unable to recall a single person, in a wide and rather varied acquaintance of the past ten years, who has changed his views on the tariff question to any notable extent. Facts are quoted both ways; logic is something in which people do not often indulge, and an appeal to the doctrine of liberty is too abstruse to reach the mind of the average citizen. Among men, almost the only class you may hope to reach are those Mr. Jessup points out as the ones most worth reaching—the editors, advocates, jurists, clergymen, and legislators. And, unhappily, it is well-nigh useless to attempt to recast the material of the minds even of such as these, the most reasonable fraction of our population.

There is a field for missionary work, however, which has long appeared to me the most promising of any the free-trader can enter. I have not seen it mentioned by your correspondents. It is the schools, academies, colleges, seminaries, and universities. To illustrate: The report of the Commissioner of Education shows that there are about 44,000 students in those institutions of our country which are classed as universities and colleges. Next September some 10,000 of these will be entering on the second year of their four years' course. From the catalogues of their respective institutions the names and addresses of these 10,000 can be easily found. From the same catalogues can be learned their ages, approximately, the studies they are occupied with, and the names of the text-books they are using. Can a better point of attack be found? A central propaganda, like the Tariff-Reform League, can mail to these students from time to time a judicious selection of tracts, adapted, as far as may be, to their respective ages, to the character of the institution in which they are enrolled, to the State in which that institution is situated, to the text-books they use, and even to the professors under whom they may suffer. In every institution thus attacked could be found a professor, or at least an enthusiastic student, who would gladly inform the agents of the propaganda as to the better sort of fact and argument and appeal for each particular class, and as to the efficiency in actual practice of the various tracts and publications used. The 10,000 students taken up next September could be followed and beat upon with tracts through the remaining three years of their course. The majority of them will have become voters by November of 1892. They will not count for much in themselves; but if the leaven work to good effect, they will help materially to broaden the foundations of the party of unrestricted commerce. And they, moreover, are the men who will become the editors, advocates, jurists, and clergymen of the next generation. And on them, by following the plan suggested, not a single shot will fall aside of the mark, whether it be effective or not. By this same plan, if it be wished, can be reached, not one, but all, classes in the colleges and universities, and not alone those in the colleges and universities, but also those in every educational institution in the country of sufficient dignity to boast a catalogue.

Not much is to be expected even from this method, which is almost equal to direct personal appeal. It is a lamentable fact that the young academician is not of an inquiring turn of mind. At eighteen the minds of young men are already fast in the cake of custom. I maintain simply that here is a field where the point of attack is well open to view, and where the forces of ignorance and unreason are not yet well marshalled against truth and logic.

It may be a question if money can be obtained to carry on the fight in a quarter whence visible results may for so long fail to appear. But the ardent free-trader is commonly blown upon to an extent—is he not?—by the breath of liberty, and is often in a measure inspired by the idea of humanity. In either case, if he contribute, it is not in the hope of direct financial return.

If I may be allowed one further word, I would suggest that this propaganda of free trade, carried on in the way suggested, could be made to some extent self-supporting. The League can issue a "Library," extend it into other subjects, and obtain from its sale, in time, a partial return for the outlay.

John Cotton Dana.

Three Mile Ranche, Colorado.

A SIGN OF THE TIMES.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: You may be interested in a local illustration of progress made in the popular acceptance of civil-service reform. The present Postmaster here, a Democrat appointed by Mr. Cleveland at the close of the term of his Republican predecessor, is spoken of by leading and strong Republicans as one who, in view of his excellent service, should be allowed to finish the term for which he was appointed; and they have accordingly declined to sign the application of a Republican who is now seeking the office. It is something thus to make good the position assumed by Mr. Cleveland; but something better still is in the air. A very strong Republican tells me that he is ready, if the present Democratic incumbent continues worthy of the office, to solicit signatures to a petition *that he be reappointed for another term!* Verily the political atmosphere is getting purer.—Respectfully yours, H. D. C.

Eastport, Me., March 1, 1889.

PROHIBITION IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: For more than a quarter century New Hampshire has had statutory prohibition, and, practically, free rum. In 1887 the Legislature passed an act probably the most direct in process and the easiest in application of any in the United States (N. H. Laws, 1887, chap. 77). It provides, in brief, that every place used for the illegal sale of any intoxicating liquor shall be considered a common nuisance, and that the Supreme Court, or any justice thereof, shall abate such nuisance by injunction on information filed by the Solicitor of the county, or upon petition of not less than twenty legal voters of the town or city in which such nuisance shall exist. To disregard this injunction is, of course, contempt of court, to be punished by fine and imprisonment, at the will of the judge. No jury trial is allowed; not only the seller, but the landlord of the tenement, is liable.

Spasmodic attempts have been made to enforce this incisive law. The failure has been ignominious and almost complete. The liquor-seller carries on his business unfettered; he sells week-days, nights, and Sundays: he sells to old topers and to schoolboys; he pays for no license, and his profits are enormous; not seldom is he counted among the "solid and influential men" in the community. Yet the prohibition sentiment seems to be gaining. The evil is so frightful in both its nature and its extent; its causal connection with nearly all the evils with which organized society has to deal, is so close and so apparent, that even those who hold most strongly to the non-interference theory are coming to regard this traffic as within the legitimate sphere of governmental control. Then why this disgraceful nullification of the most stringent laws? Because our town and municipal affairs are run by the political parties in the interest of the party machines, and not in the interest of the community at large.

The two parties are very closely balanced in the State and equally so in many of the towns and cities. Each party has its rum vote—the Democratic party the larger number, but the Republican too many to dare to enforce prohibition. Thus the rumsellers actually hold the balance of power, and in many cases dictate the policy of the city governments. Consequently our policemen can *see* nothing; our city marshals will *do* nothing; citizens do not enjoy playing informer and detective—it is not

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in human nature to do so; the rumseller is our ruler. Is it possible to exaggerate this evil of politics in local affairs? Good citizens who differ on questions of national and State policy are thus made to offset their votes against each other, to the great joy of all the baser elements. For the exquisite pleasure of having a Republican or Democratic (as the case may be) janitor in the city hall, men consent (yes, *vote*) to give the saloon full swing and to see drunkenness and debauchery run riot.

This deplorable condition of affairs might easily be remedied. Let the law-abiding and temperance-loving citizens of each town and city form a non-partisan Citizens' League, not for one year, but as a permanent organization; let each member pledge himself to act and vote in an absolutely non-partisan way in all local affairs. Let this League nominate and elect (for in most of our towns the temperance people are in the large majority) officers who shall understand that the enforcement of the liquor laws is as much a part of their business as the lighting the streets. Let them be as sure of losing their offices if they do *not* enforce these laws as our officers are now if they *do* enforce them; then we can have actual prohibition—never until then!

But what are these select few who arrogate to themselves the exclusive title of "temperance workers" actually doing? Trying to push up into the Constitution the statute law that has been a dead letter these thirty years. They seem to be afflicted with a perfect monomania. The more useless *law* proves, the more loudly do they demand *law*. They fill churches from whose steps one can smell rum, and profoundly assert, "Statutory law is *functional;* constitutional law is *organic;* we must make prohibition one of our organic principles before we can succeed." They denounce as an enemy to all righteousness any one who dares question the advantage of their plan to the temperance cause, or the effect of such a policy on the dignity and authority of our Constitution. Yet, intemperate as they undeniably are, no one can doubt their sincerity or their purity of motive.

This last, however, cannot be said of all the agitators of this movement. The Republican politicians are strongly in favor of it, because they expect thereby to gain to their ranks the third-party prohibitionist votes without losing their own votes. The liquor-seller cares not what laws are *passed* so long as they are not *enforced* by the local authorities; but the third-party prohibitionist has no *raison d'être* after prohibition has become a "part of our organic law." It does not yet appear what action the liquor-sellers will take. The brewers will of course oppose the amendment; but there is no reason why the sellers should not prefer it to a high-license law, and it will not be surprising, after the vote, to find that they have actually favored it. G. W. A.

New Hampshire, February 24, 1889.

RHODE ISLAND IN BRYCE'S 'AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH.'

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Mr. James Bryce has recently published an elaborate work on the American people and their governments, in two large, compactly printed volumes. It has received high commendation from sundry quarters, and deserves all which it receives. It is certainly a wonderful study for a foreigner to make, and yet, possibly, only a foreigner could make such a study. On one of his pages, Mr. Bryce complains of the leniency of criticism in this country. He in fact says that criticism here really does not exist, and that we really need a "searching criticism, which should appraise literary work on sound canons, not caring whether it has been produced in America or in England, by a man or a woman, in the East or in the West," etc. It is to remedy this evil (for I quite agree with Mr. Bryce that we have no criticism), so far as Rhode Island is concerned, that I send this paper. Rhode Island is but a small State, it is true, and Mr. Bryce found little to say specially about her. But there being so little, it is specially desirable that that which is said should be said correctly.

It is stated (vol. i, p. 16) "that all the thirteen colonies owed allegiance to the British crown, and, from them all, causes were carried by appeal from the colonial courts to the English Privy Council." This is qualified in a footnote, thus: "In Rhode Island no appeal seems to have lain to the crown, and the power of legislation was, by the charters of 1643 and 1663, left to the colony, with the proviso only that the laws should be agreeable to those of England as near as may be, considering the nature and constitution of the place." This note is in error. Appeals did lie to the crown, and were often prosecuted there. The celebrated case, Remington vs. Brenton, was an instance, in 1712. A large number of appealed cases could be cited were it necessary. Under a general resolution of the General Assembly, the statutes of England were established as the law of the colony, in addition to its own special enactments, and so they were held for many years; but a decision of the Supreme Court in 1749 overthrew the general resolution, making a specific act necessary to give force to an English statute.

In speaking (vol. i, p. 51) of the duty which devolves upon the President of the United States to maintain a republican form of government in every State, Mr. Bryce cites the case of Rhode Island in 1842. He says: "In the Rhode Island case the President authorized the sending in of the militia of Massachusetts and Connecticut, but the Rhode Island troops succeeded in repressing the rebellion." This is an error. No such proposition was ever even entertained, much less authorized. The President of the United States has no power to order Massachusetts militia to invade Rhode Island.

It is stated (vol. i, p. 547) that "Brown University, formerly called Rhode Island College, founded in 1764, is in the peculiar position of having for its regulation four denominations, Baptists, Congregationalists, Episcopalians, and Quakers, equally represented on the governing body." This is an error. By the Act of Establishment the government of this University was placed in the hands of thirty-six trustees and a Board of (twelve) Fellows. The trustees were to be divided thus: twenty-two Baptists, five Quakers, four Congregationalists, and five Episcopalians. The Board of Fellows was to consist of eight Baptists and four of other denominations.

In speaking (vol. i, p. 533) of the case Trevett vs. Weeden, which seems recently to have come into general notice, Mr. Bryce says, "In 1786 the Supreme Court of Rhode Island decided that an act passed by the Legislature was invalid, because contravening the provisions of the Colonial Charter (which was then still the Constitution of the State), securing to every accused person the benefit of a trial by jury. The Legislature were furious, and proceeded to impeach the judges for disobeying their will. The impeachment failed, but the judges were not reëlected by the Legislature when their terms of office expired at the end of the year, and were replaced by a more subservient bench, which held the statute valid." Again (p. 244), concerning the same matter: "The Supreme Court of Rhode Island held a statute of the Legislature void, on the ground that it made a penalty collectible on summary conviction without trial by jury." And, further, in the same matter, in a footnote on the same page, "See as to this interesting case, the first in which a legislative act was declared unconstitutional for incompatibility with a State constitution, Cooley's 'Constitutional Limitations,' page 106, note."

Mr. Bryce has studied American institutions to small purpose if he has failed to discover that when a properly constituted authority has pronounced an act of a legislature unconstitutional and void, it comes not within the powers of that same judicial authority to reconsider its judgment, and give validity to an act which it has once declared was unconstitutional, and which had never possessed force as law. Hence no "subservient court" could have made a statute valid. However, whatever may be the practice in American courts, this is what Judge Cooley says is the effect of a decision of unconstitutionality:

> "When a statute is adjudged to be unconstitutional, it is as if it had never been. Rights cannot be built up under it; contracts which depend upon it for their consideration are void; it constitutes a protection to no one who has acted under it, and no one can be punished for having refused obedience to it before the decision was made. And what is true of an act void *in toto*, is true also as to any part of an act which is found to be unconstitutional, and which consequently is to be regarded as having never, at any time, been possessed of any legal force." ('Constitutional Limitations,' 5th ed., p. 224.)

Mr. Bryce cites Judge Cooley in support of that which he has written. Judge Cooley is an admirable authority. There is probably no man in America whose name would carry greater weight. But possibly Judge Cooley may be in error. On the point above stated, that a court can make valid a statute which itself has before pronounced unconstitutional, Judge Cooley does not, I think, sustain him; but on all the other main points mentioned, I think he does sustain him, for Mr. Bryce has taken many of his sentences almost verbatim from Judge Cooley's note.

This note is in Cooley's 'Constitutional Limitations,' fifth edition, page 194, and Mr. Bryce will, of course, fall back on Judge Cooley as authority; hence I must controvert them both, and this I do. And now, since I can be no more than overthrown, if I am in error, I propose to include Mr. James B. McMaster of Johns Hopkins and Mr. John Fiske of Harvard. All these gentlemen are more or less deeply involved, for they have all fallen into practically the same error. It makes, indeed, a goodly company. In contradiction to all of them, I affirm, that the Supreme Court did not declare the act unconstitutional "because it contravened the Colonial Charter," nor, indeed, "because it made a penalty collectible on summary conviction without trial by jury." The court *did not declare the act unconstitutional at all.* It simply declared that it had no jurisdiction. The record of the case was printed in the Rhode Island 'Acts and Resolves,' October (second session), 1786, page 6, and these are the words of the decision as there recorded: "Whereupon all and singular the Premises being seen, and by the Justices of the Court aforesaid fully understood; it is considered, adjudged, and declared, that the said complaint does not come under the cognizance of the Justices here present, and that the same be and it is hereby dismissed." This is simply a denial of jurisdiction, and was so held by one of the judges, David Howell, Esq., in an argument in defence of the court before the General Assembly. These are his words: "The

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Legislature had assumed a fact in their summons to the judges which was not justified or warranted by the record. The plea of the defendant, in a matter of mere surplusage, mentions the Act of the General Assembly as 'unconstitutional and so void,' but the judgment of the Court simply is, 'that the information is not cognizable before them.' Hence it appears that the plea hath been mistaken for the judgment" ('Trial of the Case,' p. 38).

Mr. Bryce makes this statement: "The term of the judges expired at the end of the year, when they were replaced by a more *subservient bench*, which held the statute valid." This is not the precise language of Judge Cooley. He says: "Their terms expired at the end of the year, and (the Legislature) supplanted them by more *pliant tools*, by whose assistance the paper money was forced into circulation." The terms "subservient" bench and "pliant tools" are hardly proper epithets to bestow upon a court before which there came no questions for decision concerning the forcing into circulation of this paper money. The terms of the judges did not expire at the end of the year, unless, indeed, these gentlemen meant to have written "the year *for which they were elected*." But they did not so write; and this expiration has some bearing upon the question. The question before the court was, not whether the General Assembly had a right to legalize the issue of paper money, or to make that paper legal tender. It was the question of imprisonment of men who declined to take the money for goods sold or for debts. The *penal statutes* were called in question. These statutes were enacted in May, June, and August, 1786; and they were all repealed in December of that same year. The court which made the decision was elected in May, 1786, for one year. When their successors were elected, the obnoxious laws had been repealed five months, so that neither a "subservient bench" nor "pliant tools" were required for their enforcement.

The legal-tender aspect of the case is not here considered. It has not been discussed by Mr. Bryce nor by Judge Cooley. The State made paper legal tender in 1786. No Rhode Island court ever sustained the act. The United States made paper legal tender in the time of the Rebellion, and the Supreme Court sustained the constitutionality of the law. If that decision is well founded, I do not see how blame can attach to Rhode Island. But, as I have stated, I do not here enter upon that discussion.

SIDNEY S. RIDER.

73 ALMY ST., PROVIDENCE, R. I.

COMMODORE SLOAT AND THE MEXICAN WAR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Apropos of your recent notice of Bancroft's 'California,' your curious readers may find further information about Commodore Sloat's stay on the Mexican Coast, and how he got information of the war, in Dr. Wood's 'Sketches of South America and Polynesia,' published in 1849 by Carey & Hart. Dr. Wood was sent across Mexico from San Blas in order to procure information; his journey was very adventurous and dangerous. In the interior of the country he received the news of war, and sent an express back to Commodore Sloat; this reached him on May 17, 1846, and was the first news to him of the war. The English admiral had previously succeeded in getting intelligence long before our people did, but on this occasion we were ahead: the English were engaged in protecting bullion smugglers. G.

CYCLIST.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR:

"The criticule . . . is simply suffering from acute whim, more or less bilious, complicated with defective information, not to speak of an asthenic condition of the logical faculty. To bear him out in his antipathy, almost equally little with the versifier about Dr. Fell does he produce anything that can, even by stretch of courtesy, be complimented as a reason. And now he may be released."

(With apologies to "F. H.," from whose letter on the word "Reliable," immediately preceding that of J. and E. R. Pennell, the above paragraph is appropriated.)

The letter of J. and E. R. Pennell was a source of considerable surprise to me. As an active athlete, I claim some slight acquaintance with athletic nomenclature generally, and out of that knowledge I without hesitation assert that the word "cyclist," be it "English of the poorest kind" or most defensible, is English as spoken in cycling circles; further, I will assert that the word "cycler" is a stranger and only an occasional visitor with us. Not content with my own conviction, I raised the point last night at a large gymnastic club where I am a member, among the members of which we number, I should judge, some 300 to 400 riders. My view was unanimously confirmed by those riders to whom I put the question.

The reference to the proprietor of the *Cyclist* journal as "a small local job-printer and paper-hanger" is hardly ingenuous, to say the least. I have no personal interest in the paper, and, indeed, hardly ever see it, but may say that the proprietor owns two or three other class journals, has an office in London and works in the country, and turns out from the latter, in addition to his own publications, at least one weekly journal with a 30,000 circulation. The composition, presswork, and general handling of such a publication is not usually in the power of "a small local job-printer and paper-hanger." *Verb. sap.*

Yours faithfully, B. J. R.

LONDON, February 18, 1889.

Notes.

SCRIBNER & WELFORD'S spring announcements include Villari's 'Life and Times of Girolamo Savonarola,' translated by his wife, with the author's revision and enlargement; a new and enlarged edition of O'Meara's 'Napoleon at St. Helena'; the works of George Borrow; Select Essays by De Quincey, edited by Prof. David Masson; a new Commentary on Genesis, by Prof. Franz Delitzsch; 'Greek Influence on Christianity' (the Hibbert Lectures); and 'The Dead Leman, and Other Tales from the French,' translated by Andrew Lang and Paul Sylvester.

Bourrienne's 'Memoirs of Napoleon' is to be reprinted from the latest English edition by Chas. Scribner's Sons in four volumes, containing thirty-eight portraits. They have also in preparation a new edition of the Erckmann-Chatrian historical romances, and will publish directly 'Chopin, and Other Musical Essays,' by Henry T. Finck.

J. B. Lippincott Co. have arranged with Boussod, Valadon & Cie. for the exclusive publication in the United States of a sumptuous quarto volume, 'Pierre and Jean,' with illustrations by Ernest Duez and Albert Lynch. The plates will be printed by the French firm, to accompany the English text.

G. P. Putnam's Sons commemorate the approaching centennial anniversary of Washington's inauguration with a unique limited edition of Irving's Life of Washington, in five volumes quarto, comprising 200 illustrations—steel plates, and woodcuts inlaid in the text. Three hundred sets will be printed from type.

A. D. F. Randolph & Co. publish immediately the 'Life of Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford and Winchester,' by his son Reginald, revised with additions; the 'Imitation of Christ,' "for the first time faithfully rendered in rhythm"; 'The Spirit of Christ,' by Andrew Murray; 'The Counter-Reformation,' by Adolphus William Ward; and 'Thomas Hard, Priest,' by Barton Lee.

Thomas Whittaker promises directly a collection of twenty new sermons by Archdeacon Farrar.

Lee & Shepard, Boston, have in press 'Decisive Events in American History: Burgoyne's Invasion of 1777,' by Samuel Adams Drake; and 'Every-Day Business: Notes on its Practical Details,' by M. S. Emery.

'Hints for Teachers of Physiology,' by Prof. Henry P. Bowditch, of the Harvard Medical School, will be issued directly by D. C. Heath & Co.

T. Y. Crowell & Co. have just brought out a cheap edition, in paper covers, of Tolstoi's 'Anna Karénina,' in Mr. Dole's version. They have in preparation a translation of W. Heimburg's 'Story of a Clergyman's Daughter,' by Miss Jean W. Wylie.

Mr. Thomas A. Janvier's 'Mexican Guide' for 1889 (Scribners) is the same excellent publication we have had occasion to commend in other years, with few changes beyond those made necessary by the progress of events Some unimportant errors may still be detected, and occasionally a failure to note late changes in Mexican laws—for example, the adjournment of the date fixed for making the metric system compulsory in the country; but none of these at all impair the great practical value to the tourist or intending resident of Mr. Janvier's highly satisfactory work.

The fifth volume of the Transactions of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers (New York, 5 Beekman Street) contains much interesting and valuable matter, and concludes with an index to current electrical literature, or rather a series of monthly indexes, the utility of which would be vastly increased by a general topical index.

A convenient phonographic instructor is afforded by the 'Book of Psalms' "printed in the easy reporting style in accordance with the Manual of Phonography by Benn Pitman and Jerome B. Howard" (Cincinnati: Phonographic Institute).

The latest addition to the series of accurate texts of the Hebrew Bible edited by Seligman Baer and Franz Delitzsch is the Book of Chronicles ('Liber Chronicorum,' Leipzig: Tauchnitz. 1888). The editing is by Baer and the preface by Delitzsch. A second preface, by the latter's distinguished son, Friedrich Delitzsch, consists of a discussion of the etymology of the name of the Assyrian King Tiglath-pileser (Assyrian *Tukulti-pil-ashri*). The conclusion is reached that it means, "My help is the son of the sanctuary."

The *Journal* of the Military Service Institution of the United States will hereafter be published bi-monthly, instead of quarterly, at Governor's Island, New York Harbor.

Mr. F. S. Arnot's modest account of his remarkable journeys in South Africa, given in the February Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, are a distinct contribution to geographical knowledge. In the course of seven years he crossed the continent from east to west, and penetrated to regions almost

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wholly unknown and unvisited by Europeans, "without a white or even a black companion . . . or show of arms," and "never received any ill-treatment." He succeeded in reaching the country of the Gareuganze, at the head waters of the Congo and Zambesi Rivers, the goal of Dr. Livingstone's last journey. Mr. Arnot won the confidence of King Msidi, who appears to be a man of the same stamp as Mtesa, the founder of the kingdom of Uganda. The son of a trader, he has become a powerful sovereign, ruling over a great territory to the west of Lake Nyassa. This he has divided into sections, each governed by a chief who "is represented at court by one of Msidi's wives, by whom all tribute is collected, and all visitors to the capital are entertained." This novel plan, according to Mr. Arnot, who stayed in the country two years, is very effective. In a region lying between this and the Atlantic the natives have succeeded in extracting rubber from the talamba root, which has proved of great commercial value. Mr. Arnot, it should be added, travelled as an independent missionary, and succeeded in establishing a station at Mukurru, the residence of Msidi. An excellent map accompanies this paper, which is followed by an account by Mr. T. F. Bevan of his explorations in British New Guinea.

No. 139 of the *Zeitschrift* of the Berlin Geographical Society is almost wholly given up to proposals for a traveller's outfit in Eastern and Central Africa, by Paul Reichard, freely illustrated. The map of this issue is one helpful in filling out our scanty knowledge of the Amazon Valley; it shows a portion of the Peruvian department.

In the act of taking leave of a so-called winter (we speak for this part of the Atlantic coast), we can enjoy an article on "Der sogenannte Sommer 1888" published in a late number of *Vom Fels zum Meer* (Heft 3, 1888-89. New York: F. W. Christern). The "pious fraud of the almanac" exposed with a light touch, yet with tabular evidence, by Reinhold Kleemann, is, of course, the European "summer" season of last year. "It is a wonder," he says in closing, "that nobody has yet made Krakatoa responsible for it, for such explanations carry weight by their very unintelligibility, and are easy avoidances of confession of ignorance."

The American Society of Naturalists has adopted a report of a committee on the subject of "science in the schools"; recommending that instruction in natural science (chiefly by object lessons) begin in the lowest grade of the primary schools, and be continued thenceforward more and more systematically; that "an elementary (but genuine and practical) acquaintance with some one or more departments"—as, physical geography, phænogamic botany, and human physiology—be made a requisite for admission to college. The report briefly outlines the methods to be employed. The rudiments of human physiology and hygiene, even in the primary school, and of physics and chemistry in the highest grammar-school grades, are likewise urged as desiderata. The Society means to institute a propaganda to this end, and all must wish it success.

A centennial reunion of the alumni and matriculates of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill has now become possible, in the lapse of time, and is to take place on June 5 during Commencement week. There will be interesting exercises and class dinners; and a catalogue of all students from the beginning, with a complete history of the University, will be published.

Prof. Crane of Cornell University has been invited by the French Government to act as a member of the Committee under whose auspices is to be held next summer at Paris, in connection with the Exposition, the Folk-Lore Congress (*Congrès des Traditions Populaires*). The Committee is a small one, and is composed of scholars of various nations interested in the study of folk-lore.

—The first place in the March *Scribner's* is naturally assigned to the article of ex-Postmaster-General James on the Railway Mail Service. He sets forth with admirable clearness the growth and working of the system of travelling post-offices, and describes the demoralizing effect of partisan politics upon this branch of the public service with directness and vigor. Under the title "A German Rome," Mr. W. B. Scott writes an historical and antiquarian paper on the city of Treves. The other illustrated article of the number is that of William F. Apthorp on "Some of Wagner's Heroes and Heroines." It is a well-wrought piece of work, aiming mostly to show the ethical and metaphysical ideas which Wagner set himself to elaborate in his creations, with appropriate notice of their origin, growth, and changes, and will, of course, have a great timely interest, in New York at least. A baker's dozen of illustrations show the make-up adopted by some of the most famous Wagner singers in their different impersonations. In "Economy in Intellectual Work," Mr. William H. Burnham gives some old counsels driven home by the latest conclusions of physiological psychology. Mr. Janvier unloads a budget of Mexican popular tales, collected by him in his numerous trips to the neighboring republic; they are of slight texture and interest, though curious enough, some of them. Mr. Higginson and Mrs. Underhill furnish the poetry of the issue, and Henry James what is known as the "end paper." In this case, it is "An Animated Conversation," as Mr. James not too confidently calls it, where the talk flits in and out among the subjects of international relations, modern novels, French and English art, and international copyright, in a way which those accustomed to the author's style can easily imagine; his personal opinions on the topics mentioned will not be hidden from the judicious reader.

—The March *Century*, like most numbers of that magazine, has something to hit every taste. Mediæval art is represented in the paper on the two Gaddis, father and son, with a full-page reproduction of one of the latter's (supposed) works. The modern painters of whom Emma Eames Chase writes are Dutch, and the corners of their studios and other bits of Dutch interiors make pleasing illustrations. To the artistic taste, too, will appeal Mrs. Van Rensselaer's article on York Cathedral, with a dozen different cuts, outside and inside, of the majestic and beautiful pile. Mr. Kennan turns aside for the moment from his study of cruelty to take up that of superstition, and gives an account of an excursion he made off the main route to Siberia in order to visit the Grand Lama of the Trans-Baikal. The principal impression left by the portrait of the Grand Lama, given as the frontispiece of the number, is a growing wonder as to where the man could have stowed away his feet and legs—a wonder that might seem to him as strange as to us seems his at the sphericity of the earth as Mr. Kennan argued it out to him. Something more than an old proverb is illustrated in the careful account of experiments in the use of oil to still the waves of the ocean, and of the devices now employed and proposed to make the remedy more economical and effective, by W. H. Beehler. "Something Electricity is Doing" is more suggestive than descriptive, being made up mostly of hints at the industrial changes to be wrought by "taking the motor to the work instead of the work to the motor." The Lincoln biography reaches the completion of emancipation, up to which it has been working in the recent important chapters. Congressman Reed has a brief protest against the rules of the body in which he sits—not treating the subject with thoroughness, of course, but crying out as one himself in the toils.

—The most taking title in the March *Atlantic's* table of contents (at least for all who are not hopelessly under the spell of Prof. Hardy and Henry James) is "Personal Reminiscences of William H. Seward," by Samuel J. Barrows and his wife, each of whom served as the statesman's private secretary. If what these writers have to say does not fully bear out the expectations roused by their subject, it is only because it should not have been expected that they would have intimate or particularly important revelations to make. A pleasant picture they give us of the Secretary's personal affability, and considerable insight into his habits of composition and methods of work. Stuart F. Weld writes of the Isthmus canal as related to the policy of our Government, his aim being to show that the scheme of exclusive control is decidedly an afterthought, due to the appearance of Jingoism in the State Department in 1881-82. He also points out the changes wrought in international law by the Suez Canal, and argues that the guaranteed neutrality of that highway of commerce is a precedent that ought to be followed in the case of any route across the Panama Isthmus. In "Some Colonial Lawyers and their Work," Frank Gaylord Cook sketches the slow differentiation of the legal profession in colonial times, and dwells at some length on the great political and historical significance of the speeches (rather than strictly legal arguments) of Otis and Henry in the famous writs of assistance and parson's cause cases. John Fiske give more fruits of his historical studies in the Revolutionary period, this time detailing the grand military plan of the English to end the war in its second year, and the parts taken in it by Burgoyne and St. Leger at Ticonderoga, Bennington, and Oriskany. Of course, no one will skip Charles Dudley Warner's short paper on "Simplicity," or Whittier's poem on last year's extraordinary Christmas weather; and those who like a dialect story with something more than the dialect in it will not refuse it at the hands of Elizabeth W. Bellamy.

—The most memorable work of Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps is his 'Outlines.' This opinion of Mr. Furness's expresses the feeling of every true Shaksperian. When outsiders ask, "Why do we know so little about Shakspere?" the best answer is, "Because you have not read, or certainly have not marked and inwardly digested, Phillipps's 'Outlines,' especially the seventh edition." Seeing how all the world has been taxed for elaborating this monumental work, we are at once constrained to echo the saying of Furness, "It is not likely that any scraps of knowledge will be added to what is contained in these volumes." What shall the man do who cometh after the king? But had Phillipps lived a year longer, he would have added a good many such scraps. Witness the growth of the 'Outlines' year by year, even up to the last edition, our presentation copy of which is dated October 3, 1887. In our last conversation with him he said his favorite haunts were the New Record Office and the British Museum, and that he seldom entered either

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without gathering up some Shaksperian fragments. He was, in truth, a magnet to such fragments, which attracted them out of hiding-places where no one would ever look for them. "No likelihood of any further scraps of Shaksperian knowledge"! What will Mr. Furness say to the following, which a lucky chance has just thrown in our way?

"In an indenture between the Right Honorable Sir Richard Saltonstall, Knt., Lord Mayor of London, and two other commissioners of her Majesty (fortieth year of Queen Elizabeth), and the parties deputed to collect the first of three subsidies granted by Parliament the year preceding,—bearing date 1 Oct. 1598, for the rate of St. Helen's Parish, Bishopgate ward,—the name of William Shakespeare is found as liable with others to that rate."

This scrap was unknown to Halliwell-Phillipps. He with other prophets and kings desired it long, but died without the sight.

—In the 'Outlines' there is but one statement concerning the local habitation of Shakspere in London. It is in these words: "At this time, 1596, he appears to have been residing when in town in lodgings near the Bear Garden in Southwark" (vol. i, p. 130, 7th ed.). Only this and nothing more. Thanks to the tax-record, we can say where his residence *was*, not merely where it "appears to have been." Mr. Phillipps gives no authority for his opinion concerning Shakspere's lodgings. We have legal proof that his abode two years after was in St. Helen's parish. Crosby Hall in St. Helen's parish is sometimes visited by Americans as the scene of assignation between Gloster (not yet Richard III.) and Lady Anne, and also the place where Catesby was to report to Gloster the progress of the plot for chopping off Hastings's head. It will be visited ten times oftener, thanks to our proof that Shakspere's home was close by that hall, and that, too, about the time, if not at the exact time, when "Richard III." was written. Indeed, the proximity of that Crosby Hall, of Gothic massiveness and oaken ceilings and historic associations, may have led to the selection of Richard as the subject of a play. No trace of the Bear Garden can be discovered. Crosby Hall is the best preserved mediæval building in the metropolis. The scrap we have raked from the dust of old oblivion, if known to Mr. Phillipps, would have become the starting-point of a new departure, "a small prick to a subsequent volume." His research was in many lines, but does not appear to have extended to tax-lists. But, once having caught the scent, he would have ferreted out every document on London taxes in the period of Shakspere's life there. Such a search is the duty of those on whom his mantle has fallen. The worm-hole of long-vanished days from which we plucked this gem we refrain from mentioning, till we learn whether it is known to any writer for *Shakespeariana*. The discoverer of the indenture did not tell anybody of his Kohinoor, but hid it in a place where nobody would look for it. Nor did we look for it, more than Saul looked for a kingdom when he went forth to seek his father's asses.

—The University of Cambridge has lately set up in several of the centres of trade in England examinations for what are called "Commercial Certificates." The first report of the examiners has just been published, and it gives a most depressing view of the state of business education in the country. Forty-nine candidates presented themselves for examination in twenty-three different places, and of these only eight passed. The quality of the papers seems to have been very poor. One question, on commercial terms and abbreviations, was hardly attempted by anybody. No candidate could draw a bill of exchange properly. "Very little power was shown of composing a simple letter in respectable English that should say what was wanted, and nothing more." "The spelling also left much to be desired in some cases, and the writing of a few of the candidates was so slovenly that they would have been rejected whatever the merit of their papers had been." The French and German were both found to be poor; advanced algebra and political economy good for nothing; no practical short-hand; weak geography and history. The English literature was "not of a high order"; the chemistry "inaccurate, and the practical work very poor"; the mechanical drawing "worthless." Even of the arithmetic it is reported that "none of the papers were of conspicuous merit, and the general average was low." Elementary algebra was better done, and some praise is given to single candidates for Spanish, sound and light, and heat and electricity. The English university examiner is not generally believed to err habitually on the side of over-gentleness of speech and judgment, but if the report of the Cambridge examiner is only half fair and just, it explains the preference of business men for German-trained clerks and secretaries, of which some complaint has at times been made in the English newspapers.

—In his address on occasion of the third graduation ceremony of the Imperial University of Japan, the President, Mr. H. Watanabe, presented a concise outline of matters related to that institution which will interest all who note the progress of the higher education in the far East. The College of Law, previously confined to the English and French divisions, has been enriched by the addition of a German division. Instruction in legal court practice is given gratis to students by eminent members of the profession in Tokio. Almost all of the graduates in law will receive appointments in the imperial legal courts. The law college now instructs more than eighty students. The curricula in the College of Medicine are now nearly complete, and include the addition of a new course of pharmacy. Lectures and practical instruction in nursing in the College Hospital were given by Miss Agnes Vetch, a scientifically trained English nurse. Advantages are now to be offered for the study of forensic medicine. Some months ago, on occasion of the visit of her Majesty the Empress to the University and its hospital, she inspected all the wards and operation rooms, and made inquiries as to the diseases of almost every patient. A grant of three hundred *yen* made by her Majesty at that time is devoted to providing extra accommodation for free patients, thus relieving the sick poor, and at the same time offering greater advantages to the course of clinical medicine and surgery. Original investigations conducted in the various institutes of the medical section have been published in the journal of the College.

—Perhaps the outlook of the Engineering College is the most satisfying. The construction of new engineering works and appliances throughout Japan is increasing to such an extent that the graduates of this College are insufficient to meet the demands for properly qualified professional men. Courses in sanitary engineering and the technology of arms and explosives have recently been added to curricula already very full. New buildings in the University compound just completed for the Engineering College are now ready for occupancy. Of the thirty-five graduates of this College, thirteen are in civil engineering, two each in mechanical engineering, naval architecture and electric engineering, one in architecture, eleven in applied chemistry, and four in mining and metallurgy. In the Literature College, only two students graduate, one in philosophy and the other in Japanese literature. In the College of Science many important researches have been carried out. Prof. Knott and his assistants have been busy with a determination of the elements of magnetic force in the empire. For the purpose of anthropological investigations, the *hyaku-ana*, or one hundred excavations, as they are popularly known, have been inquired into, with encouraging results. There were found between two and three hundred of these, and several human relics were obtained—gold rings, swords, old bits of earthen ware, etc. These are in Yoshimi; and elsewhere, many old tombs were searched and valuable archæological specimens procured. In furthering astronomical ends, the Japanese officials have made a wise move in the consolidation of the three Government observatories at Tokio into one. This is known as the Imperial Tokio Observatory, and is attached to the Mombusho, or Department of Education, with Prof. Terao as director. It is thus under the control of the University, and its site is that heretofore known as the Imperial Naval Observatory, in Azabu, whither the instruments and apparatus of the two other former observatories are removed. The principal telescopes are of the best German and English construction. The total number of students of the University, including elective and special students, is now about eight hundred, and more than two hundred scholarships, for the most part on the loan system, are available.

McCULLOCH'S MEN AND MEASURES.

Men and Measures of Half a Century. Sketches and Comments. By Hugh McCulloch, Secretary of the Treasury in the Administrations of Presidents Lincoln, Johnson, and Arthur. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1888.

THE reminiscences of great men are not infallible. "Chief actors" and "principal witnesses" the authors may have been, and still much of their testimony be hearsay, and many of the events which their eyes beheld have been seen through a distorting medium of jealousies, prejudices, unfounded suspicions, and angry, partisan denunciations. The writers were contemporaries, but the writings were not contemporaneous. Except in the case of hastily written, incomplete, imperfect daily journals, reminiscences are written generally long after the events, and by men who know so much about the things they are narrating that they never know when to distrust their memories and "verify their quotations." Thus, General Grant, in his political conversation in 1880 with a Methodist clergyman, said that a certain military order of General Hancock's in New Orleans had been a great mistake—an order which General Hancock should not have issued, and which he, General Grant, had been obliged to rescind. Here the main facts existed: there had been such an order, it had been deemed improper—General Grant had rescinded it; yet the record showed that it had been issued by General Sheridan, and had been rescinded at the request of General Hancock. It is fortunate for General Grant's own book that his military life had been written under his own eye several years before; that it had been subjected to criticism and correction before he himself began to write, and that his own work was subjected to the revision of so well trained a critic as General Badeau.

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Mr. McCulloch's events, however, are seen through no distorting medium. A fairer, kindlier book was never written. It is refreshing indeed, in an age of detractious and sensational authorship, to find an able man treating so generously his rivals or opponents, and speaking so temperately of the mistakes and blunders and errors and wrongs which his judgment or his conscience condemns. The fault, indeed, of Mr. McCulloch's book, from a critical point of view, is the abounding kindliness and delicacy which govern his hand whenever he touches his contemporaries, living or dead. For instance, there are many anonymous sayings which would be much more interesting to the reader and valuable to the author if the name of the speaker had been given. Thus: "One of the ablest of the Republican Senators" said, alluding to the sentence in Grant's inaugural that he accepted the responsibilities of the office without fear, "You know, McCulloch, that I am not a religious man, but if I had been elected President I should not have accepted the responsibilities without fear. I should on my knees have asked God to help me." And another unnamed Senator, who viewed the fearful carnage of the Wilderness two days after the battle, exclaimed, "If that scene could have been presented to me before the war, anxious as I was for the preservation of the Union, I should have said, 'The cost is too great; erring sisters, go in peace.'" Both of these speeches reflected upon General Grant, and Mr. McCulloch, scrupulous as to the possible wishes of the speakers, withholds their names.

His appreciation of ability is circumscribed by no clique or faction or party lines, and his good words fall upon the just and the unjust. Of President Johnson he says:

"No public man in the United States has been so imperfectly understood as Andrew Johnson. None has been so difficult to understand. He had many faults, but he abounded also in admirable qualities. His love of the Union was a passion, intensified by the dangers to which it had exposed him and by his labors in its defence." "He was an honest man, and his administration was an honest and clean administration. In this respect it will bear comparison with any that preceded or has followed it. In appointments money was not potent. Offices were not merchandise. The President never permitted himself to be placed under personal obligations to any one. He received no presents. The horses and carriage which were sent to him soon after he became President were promptly returned." "If he did not declare that public offices were public trusts, his actions proved that he so regarded them. In some matters I doubted the correctness of his judgment, but I never doubted his devotion to what he considered his duty to the country, and the whole country." "By the Republican press and by some members of Congress he was denounced as a traitor, not only to his party, but to the country. His services during the war, in recognition of which he had been nominated for the Vice-Presidency; the bravery which he had displayed in his contests with the secessionists of Tennessee; the terrible trials to which his family were subjected by his fidelity to the Union, were all ignored, buried, forgotten."

Of Mr. Stanton:

"He died on the 24th of December, 1869, having made for himself a record for energy, promptness of decision, practicable ability, and inflexible devotion to the Government which entitled him to a very high rank among those who are justly honored for their services when the national life was at stake." "He relinquished a lucrative practice in the legal profession to serve the country when just such services as he was able to render were required, and he did serve it with unfaltering zeal and unremitted industry." "He was a great war minister, and his proper mission ended at the end of the war."

Of Mr. Seward:

"The statesman was much wiser than the soldier [General Grant]." "It was not cowardice, but prudence and intelligent statesmanship, that dictated the policy by adherence to which the French army was forced out of Mexico, Maximilian left to his fate, and the prestige of Napoleon III. severely damaged. Fortunate was it for the people of the United States, and for the cause of civil liberty throughout the world, that at the close of our great civil war the control of the Government was not in the hands of a self-confident soldier."

Of Mr. Chase:

"If I were asked to designate the man whose services, next to Mr. Lincoln's, were of greatest value to the country from March, 1861, to July, 1864, I should unhesitatingly name Salmon P. Chase."

Of Mr. Fessenden:

"He was one of the very few men of his day who merited the name of statesman." "He was not an orator, but a debater of the highest order, lucid, cogent, incisive." "In devotion to what he considered right he was as inflexible as steel."

Of Mr. Seymour:

"Horatio Seymour was one of the ablest and purest of statesmen." "No man in the country was better equipped for the Presidency."

Of Mr. Robeson:

"He was the best abused member of the Cabinet, but the abuse to which he was subjected neither soured his temper nor injured his digestion." "If instead of being Secretary of the Navy, he had been Attorney-General, he would have won an enviable national reputation."

Of Mr. Boutwell:

"He was, I am sure (being, in spite of his prejudices, a high-toned gentleman), gratified as he ascertained from day to day that the Department had been honestly administered."

Of Mr. Belknap:

"He had the reputation of being an able man and of good business qualifications."

Of Mr. Wm. E. Chandler:

"He had my entire confidence—in no one could it have been more safely reposed."

Of President Arthur:

"If any one of our Presidents merited a second term, he did."

Of Mr. Lincoln:

"He was unassuming, patient, hopeful, far-seeing. He was also one of the bravest of men. In saying this, I do not refer to personal courage, in which he was by no means deficient, but to bravery of a higher and rarer kind—bravery which was steadfast under the criticism of his friends and the assaults of his enemies." "Throughout his administration Mr. Lincoln was wiser than his assailants, wiser than his friends."

And of Jefferson Davis:

"There have been few men more gifted than Mr. Davis, and few whose opportunities for intellectual culture have been better improved. I had not known him personally, but I knew what his standing was among the able men of the country, and expected to meet in him an accomplished gentleman. To those who knew him well, it is not necessary for me to say that I was not disappointed, and that I was most favorably impressed by his manners and conversation."

As a sagacious reader has remarked, "Mr. McCulloch has said too many good things about too many people." The only person to whom he has not done justice is the late General Rawlins, of whose appointment as Secretary of War he says, "General Rawlins had no special qualifications for the place, and had done nothing to merit the appointment." This was undoubtedly the opinion of many intelligent men at the time; but of General Rawlins, as of Mr. Lincoln, it may be truly said, the more we learn of him the better he appears. Certainly Mr. McCulloch, when he wrote that sentence, could not have read General W. F. Smith's article on Grant and Rawlins, nor the brave and noble letter which the chief of staff wrote to his commanding officer soon after the fall of Vicksburg—a letter which has no equal in the annals of friendship or of military life. Mr. McCulloch says that the success of Vicksburg had a decided influence upon General Grant, and that thereafter he believed in his own destiny. If the truth could be known, it would probably appear that the change was not due to Vicksburg, but to the letter of General Rawlins and the inexorable resolution with which he confronted his superior officer.

Yet it must not be supposed that Mr. McCulloch's courtesy and kindness have made his sketches of men valueless. On the contrary, the man of banks and business frequently dissects character with the hand of a master, and weighs merits and faults in the just and delicate balance which generally belongs only to an experienced critical writer. The analysis of President Johnson and General Grant, the delineations of their characters, the portrayal of their public acts and services, and the statement of their merits and defects, form the best biographical criticism that has yet appeared of those two men. It is not a criticism which the country is yet ready to adopt as to either of them; but when the prejudice and glamour of the day have passed, Mr. McCulloch's estimate will be adopted generally, and the future critic will admire the dispassionate calmness of a contemporary who, notwithstanding the friendly and unfriendly relations which existed between himself and them, was able to look at both sides of each character, and place an almost unerring estimate upon each.

The chief defect of Mr. McCulloch's book is, that, so far as public men and measures are concerned, it is neither reminiscence nor history. When he puts words into the mouth of a general during a battle without citing his authority, it is certain that he did not hear them, and uncertain where he found them. If his book had given only his reflections and observations at the time of the occurrences, it would be a valuable contribution to history, as showing how great events appeared to an unusually calm and intelligent observer, and would help the future historian to see them as they were seen. But, unfortunately, Mr. McCulloch's reflections do not stop there. Nor has he modified the old impressions by careful historical study. Thus, he says of General McClellan, that he "thought at the time that he merited the displeasure of the Government," but that subsequently, after he "had been better informed," his mind underwent a radical change, and he came to the conclusion that instead of having been relieved and retired, he should have been "honored for his generalship and continued in command." Mr. McCulloch also quotes a Confederate general "who served with distinction in the Army of Virginia," as saying, "There was no Union general whom we so much dreaded as McClellan."

Assuredly such statements as these are but a demonstration of the truth of Pope's immortal line. If there was any fact established in the year, 1888, when Mr. McCulloch's book went to press, it was that every Confederate general whose opinion is worth having held McClellan's generalship in unqualified contempt. The audacious movement of Lee *out of the defences* of Richmond, calmly and prudently considered before it was undertaken, was based on his contempt for his opponent's generalship. His operations in Maryland in 1862, the division of his army, the almost reckless advance upon Harper's Ferry, were again based on that contempt. We have also the articles of Generals Longstreet, Hill, and McLaws, and the words of Stonewall Jackson after his capture of Har-

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per's Ferry. Even the guerilla Mosby in his book shows that Stuart's raid through McClellan's lines was a product of the same contempt, and he quotes with derision the false and pompous despatch to Washington, saying that some of the enemy's cavalry had gone somewhere, and that he had despatched troops to punish them. If he had telegraphed, "The young and energetic leader of the Confederate cavalry is riding where he pleases through my lines, but I have sent his old father-in-law with cavalry retarded by infantry to catch him if he can," it would have expressed the truth of the situation.

But the error is greater even than this. If Mr. McCulloch had given the world his first impressions and final convictions, and stopped there, no one could have found fault with that. But he then proceeds to give the reasons why injustice was done to McClellan, and why he should have been retained in command—*i. e.*, to write history. The history which he thus writes is nothing more than an abstract of McClellan's oft-repeated complaints and excuses. Of the almost infinite patience of Abraham Lincoln, of the kindly messages he sent to the semi-mutinous general, of the admonitory letters he wrote; of all the reproaches and abuse which were showered upon himself by his own political friends, and what he silently suffered and heroically endured, lest he should injure the cause of his country by mistakenly removing McClellan, Mr. McCulloch manifestly has never heard. The only justification for General McClellan is that which he himself offered at the time, the superior numbers of the enemy. We now know the relative strength of the opposing armies with as much certainty as we know the distance from New York to Liverpool; yet it is manifest that Mr. McCulloch has never seen the figures. Greatly to be regretted it is that so careful and painstaking a man should have published historical statements which were not based on historical research.

But the men and measures of half a century extend before and after the brief period of the civil war. In 1832 Mr. McCulloch listened to Jeremiah Mason as he addressed a committee of the Massachusetts Legislature in favor of a "bill authorizing the construction of a railroad from Boston to Salem"—a measure which was violently opposed, on the ground that a turnpike company was entitled to the exclusive traffic between the two towns. In 1888 he asks, "In what other country do manufacturers who are protected by tariff against foreign competition, combine by trusts and other agencies to prevent domestic competition?" and he comments: "There is no country of which I have any knowledge in which business of all descriptions is so steadily falling into fewer and fewer hands, in which combinations are so powerful, and individuals so powerless, as the United States." In 1833, when he left New England, the *North American Review* had been edited by Alexander and Edward Everett; in 1887 he notices, with the contempt of an upright gentleman, that it publishes the scurrilous trash of an anonymous coward. In his preface, and in the last pages of his book, Mr. McCulloch avows and reavows the conviction that "the greatest mistake which has been made by the Government of the United States has been in conferring upon foreigners the elective franchise," and that "by inviting to our shores to assist in administering the State and national governments men who consider it their duty to fight all governments, we have done much to make our grand experiment a failure."

Besides the men and measures of America, the book contains four chapters upon England, founded, of course, upon the author's six years' residence there. The subject is not a new one, but it is pleasant to have the first impressions of a mature and intelligent American mind, well trained in observation and deduction; and that Mr. McCulloch's certainly was when he first set eyes upon the soil of England. The same discriminating and appreciating spirit is seen in these chapters as in the American portions of the book, and the narration is in the same clear and simple style. An American schoolgirl might read his brief account of English society and life and customs with pleasure and profit, and learn that an English laborer on £1 a week can bring up a family comfortably with enough of food, and meat twice a week, his children in school and something laid by in the savings-bank; that a French village of 300 inhabitants could live well on the food that is wasted in one large American hotel; that a knight will speak of his wife as "my lady," and a duke of his as "my wife"; that London is "the most Sabbath-observing city in the world," and "Victoria one of the purest of women" and "most sensible of queens."

THREE BOOKS OF TRAVEL.

A Trip Round the World in 1887-8. By W. S. Caine, M. P. George Routledge & Sons.

Our Kin Across the Sea. By J. C. Firth, with a preface by J. A. Froude. Longmans, Green & Co. 1888.

Frau Buchholz im Orient. Von Julius Stinde. Berlin: Freund & Jeckel; New York: B. Westermann & Co. 1888. 8vo, pp. 238.

MR. CAINE shows wisdom as well as modesty when he states in his preface that he relies upon illustrations rather than on his literary powers for the success of his book. The illustrations are numerous and admirable almost without exception, and make amends for occasional slip-shod English and other defects of style. But if Mr. Caine is not a great writer, he says much that is interesting, much that is valuable, and he avoids in a most creditable manner the temptation to take the public into his confidence in matters of personal comfort and discomfort—a temptation to which many travellers succumb readily and with much resulting weariness to their readers. The book divides itself into two parts, the first dealing with Canada and the second with Japan, China, and India. Mr. Caine finds much to praise and admire in Canada: the incalculable benefits of a system of free education, not yet reached in England; the fact that an agricultural laborer can go to Manitoba, and in a few years save money enough to buy 160 acres of land, and in a few more years increase his capital ten or twenty-fold; and above all, for Mr. Caine is a strong temperance advocate, the fact that in Canada the cause of temperance is daily gaining ground, and that its inhabitants consume one gallon of liquor per head as compared with ten gallons in England. With all these things he is deeply impressed, as also with the magnificent scenery of the Rocky and Selkirk Ranges, much of which is reproduced in the illustrations, and with the delightful climate of Vancouver's Island, which he considers superior to Manitoba for farming.

Coming next to Japan, he says: "They make a great mistake who think that because Japan is a heathen country, it is, therefore, of necessity low down in the scale of civilization. In everything that makes a country happy, prosperous, and contented, Japan will compare favorably with any nation in Christendom." Mr. Caine thinks that the great Buddhist temples of Nikko rank with the finest religious edifices in the world, pagan or Christian, and that as specimens of carpenter's work they are quite beyond compare. He even goes so far as to declare that the Kutab Minar at Delhi is as beautiful as Giotto's Campanile at Florence. The ill success of missionary effort in the East is illustrated by the fact that after forty years of English government in Hong Kong, there are only 1,200 Christian worshippers out of a population of 160,000 Chinese subjects. This, Mr. Caine argues, is largely the result of the low moral tone of the English governing and mercantile classes. He moreover makes the very serious charge that throughout the East, wherever English influence sways the habits of the natives, intemperance is increasing instead of diminishing.

What strikes him most in India is the disproportionate distribution of wealth—the Rajahs and Princes being enormously rich, and the common people miserably poor, more so even than the inhabitants of southwestern Ireland. The rate of taxation in India is double that existing in England, and the people are constantly on the verge of starvation, owing to the uncertainty of the crops and the extraordinary density of population. Mr. Caine thinks the situation may possibly be improved by the admission of eminent natives to important positions in the Government, and he has hopes that, in view of the growth of manufactures, the time is not far distant when India will produce for herself all that she now buys from Manchester; but many of Mr. Caine's constituents regard India mainly as a dumping-ground for Manchester goods and missionaries, and it is to be feared that his views on these subjects will cause a shudder in Lancashire.

Mr. Firth, we learn from Mr. Froude's preface, is one of the oldest and most distinguished of the New Zealand colonists. He has risen to wealth and influence by steady industry and unblemished integrity. He has never meddled with professional politics, has kept clear of speculation, and attended steadily to his own business. He has been a merchant, has developed mines and railroads, and become a large landowner. In private life he is known as a gentleman and a man of honor. In public he has thrown the weight of his high character always on the side of measures best calculated to further the moral improvement of the population. He earnestly desires to see strengthened the bonds between the mother country and the colonies. Whether the means which he would wish to see adopted are at present available is another question. Mr. Firth has read much, thought and observed more; but he is not a man of letters, and his object is merely to set down in the plainest possible language his own observations and reflections. In the work before us he has described a tour through the United States, and though the subject is not a new one, the treatment of it by a New Zealander is a novelty.

After this flattering introduction by a noted historian, we feel somewhat modest about criticising Mr. Firth's book at all. But candor compels us to state that a large part of Mr. Firth's observations might have been got up with a little research in any good library, and without the expense and trouble of a trip through the United States. In fact, it has become very difficult for anybody not a genius—even a New Zealander—to have new impressions about one of the much-travelled countries of the modern world. With this limitation and restriction, we are quite willing to admit that Mr. Firth's is a readable little book. As to what Mr. Froude

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vaguely calls his "economic heresies," they seem to us redeemed by their own vagueness, and his dream of a confederation of the English-speaking race all over the world is perfectly harmless. What we like best in the book is his report about what he actually saw—the behavior of the people in hotels and cars, their manners and traits. Here, as far as he goes, he is on solid ground.

As usual, much of what he says is not particularly flattering to our self-love. One point he notices which we do not remember to have seen treated by any of his predecessors, from Mrs. Trollope to Matthew Arnold—we mean the unwillingness of Americans to say "Thank you" for small services. It certainly is a marked distinction between Americans and English, and it would be interesting to investigate its causes. Is it because most Americans fancy that it puts the thanker in a position of inferiority? Is it owing to a general lack of high civilization and finish of manners? It cannot be for the reason that it is a finer and more democratic thing to be uncivil than to be civil, for what Mr. Firth says on this point is that "Thank you" are words rarely heard in "*this polite and courteous country*, even among equals, for any little service rendered. To inferiors or to servants I do not think I ever heard them applied." Such is one of the traits of the Great West—Mr. Firth does not seem to have travelled in the East—as it strikes a New Zealander.

'Stinde's latest work is not a novel or one of the continuations of 'The Buchholz Family,' but merely a narrative of travel in Egypt, Palestine, Greece, and Turkey, ingeniously devised by its thrifty author to derive a little more profit out of the great popularity of his former publications. "Buchholz" has become a valuable trade-mark, to be utilized to its fullest extent. Aside from that, there does not seem any reason why the present volume should have been published. Viewed simply as a book of travels, it is neither better nor worse than the great mass of such writings annually turned out by the mob of tourists who write with ease, and read by nobody knows whom, unless it be the unfortunate critics. It is true, the author occasionally enlivens his narrative with a dash of the peculiar humor to which he owes his fame, and which is for the most part calculated for the latitude of Berlin only. Here and there one even lights on a translatable pleasantry, as when Frau Buchholz, in speaking of the unclouded Egyptian sky, says that it was beautiful clothes-drying weather; but a few such plums are not enough to make the otherwise rather heavy pudding digestible.

Realistic Idealism in Philosophy Itself. By Nathaniel Holmes. 2 vols. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1888.

THE best and shortest criticism that can be made upon these volumes is a comparison of the author's own language upon a theory which he rejects and one which he accepts. There are four theories, he says, which come under consideration: "The Biblical-Supernatural Theory," "The Materialistic-Machine Theory," "The Mystical-Idealistic Theory," and "The Realistic-Ideal Theory." The first three he repudiates; the last he adopts. The theory of materialism he defines and outlines thus:

"Matter has in it the potency of all forms of life. Mind has a physical basis and no other. Thinking is a physiological process, and the work done is measured by the consumption of brain-tissue. Feeling is a state of the nerves. Volition is reflex action, the turning of a balance on its hinge, or the motion of the drop in a spirit level. Memory is residual impression on brain structure, as if imprinted on wax, or is a well-hammered habit of the cell tissues. Consciousness is phosphorescent illumination, as when light glows from an electric candle. Judgment is an overweighing of conflicting brain-states, or of 'relational perceptions.' Reason is only the formal outlines of sense-impressions on the brain-tissue. There is no need of Will or Soul, and no proof of the existence of any: neither microscope nor spectroscope has ever discovered any. Art is a play of brain-tissues into imitations of sense-forms. The ideal is a dream of the fancy. Imagination is a vision-making play of neural states. Emotion is an excited state of the nerves. Morality is the utilitarian result of the mechanical working of the brain: vice and crime are the useless result. Religion is mere superstition: death ends all. Money is the *summum bonum*; but pure devotion to science, that leaves all the profits to patentees and speculators, is highly honorable. Physical science is all the knowledge worth knowing, and is the only redemption from Biblical supernaturalism. All beyond is unknowable and incomprehensible. Positive science is philosophy: all else is either theological vision or metaphysical moonshine."

Whether we agree with these statements or not, they are perfectly clear: there is no mistaking what the author intends the conception of materialism to be. Of his own theory, realistic idealism, he says:

"The theory is founded, as the universe itself eternally is, upon absolute and relative necessities. . . . Its summary category is that of Universality, Specialty, Particularity, and Totality or One-Wholeness. . . . The universal and essential Whole, as absolute Content and Form in eternal movement, is eternally and necessarily differenced, distinguished, and distributed into parts, aspects and special relations within the Whole: and the eternally active and absolute Causality therein involved is eternally and necessarily mediated through these special determinations of essence, form, and relation, as media, means, instrumentalities, and further differentiated into other specialties of essence and form, and into the particular substances, shapes, qualities, and properties of things in Nature; returning again through them and out of them into its own ever-continuous identity, whereby they vanish as such in a perpetual round or cycle of creation of new in the destruction of old. . . . Finite souls, in whatever degree, from the lowest self-conscious animal up to the highest human intelligence, are such specialties of essence and form, of soul and body compounded, in the sphere of external Nature; the internal soul being so specially constituted within the external body as to be in itself a special whole by itself considered, and a *quasi*-logical Notion (however incomplete), and, as such, a partial and dependent (not an absolute) unity or syllogism of synthetic Apperception and Judgment in a finite personality, sharing as such in the universal reason and life by a certain limited participation therein," etc.

The sentence is too long to finish. When giving the views of others the author is brief and sententious enough. It is when expounding his own that he falls into this interminable verbosity. He often has sentences twelve, fifteen, eighteen, or twenty lines long. The definition of the idealistic theory of morals is a sentence of thirty lines. All this reminds us of De Quincey's indictment against Kant: "He has sentences which have been measured by a carpenter, and some of them run two feet eight by six inches." But imagine two volumes of 500 pages each, the most of which is no more intelligible than the last passage we have quoted, much of it worse. The author belongs to that class of men who have rejected mythical Christianity, on the one hand, but have carried over against science, on the other, the hostility which they inherited from theology, and hence, in default of ability to reconstruct their philosophy in terms that would be satisfactory to either theology or science, they run off into parroting the phraseology of post-Kantian transcendentalists—terms that can neither be understood nor refuted. Scarcely anything but the introduction is intelligible. This, being largely an historical survey, is clear and interesting, although in some respects very radical; for instance, when the author would have some Caliph Omar destroy the whole literature of India and Greece as worthless to modern science and modern life. The chapters on evolution show no real appreciation of that doctrine. They practically amount to a complaint that Darwin and his coadjutors do not express themselves in the language of "Essence," "Form," "Power," "Necessity," "Actuality," etc. Evolution would have a different color for him if it could appear in scholastic verbiage. The tendency of the author's mind is very well reflected in the frequent use of such terms as "Quadruplicity," "Triplicity," "Essentity," "Isity," "living syllogism," "unical hyparxes," with a perfectly endless permutation of the charmed abstractions in Hegelianism. If philosophy comes to this, its fate will be pitiful, but deserved.

There is considerable learning in the work, but the author seems to have no sense of what is rational in language or thought, and, apart from occasional passages of an historical nature which reflect a sober judgment, and surprise us all the more at its obliquities when analyzing a problem, the largest portion of it can only be regarded as a specimen of philosophical dementia. It will be of no use to any scholar or student. Unless philosophy can perform its task better, we must give our allegiance to the sciences.

Modern Heliographic Processes: A Manual of Instruction in the Art of Reproducing Drawings, Engravings, Manuscripts, etc., by the Action of Light, etc., etc. By Ernst Lietze. D. Van Nostrand.

THE multiplication of books on photography without the excuse of a new discovery or a new application of an old one is carried to the point of becoming a nuisance, and merits only the most rigorous repression. When a compendium of what is known and to be practised is to be made, it should be done by a thoroughly scientific expert and made as concise as possible, for the practical matter to be taught is not voluminous, and the theoretical too well known to justify repetition by the uneducated.

'Modern Heliographic Processes' does not belong to the class of books that are required or to that of books which are amusing. It is an elaborate collection of all the known processes of reproduction by means of light, and its appellation is no bad indication of the scientific knowledge of the author, for it is a purely gratuitous substitution of the word "heliographic" for what time and general recognition have given the better word "photographic" to. It is an impertinence in this case to attempt to change the vocabulary already accepted. The book in question deals simply with light, and, in the case of almost every process described by the author, the light of a gas flame or an electric discharge has the same power of reproduction; while the term "heliographic" is already appropriated by a well-known process of printing.

The book is a swollen rehash of the most commonplace scientific facts, muddled in the most extraordinary manner, with practical explanations which are curiosities of statement. "The comparatively small susceptibility of the photographic plate to feeble light explains the reason why shadows, in photography [why not heliography?], are generally too dark," is a sample of the nonsense the author talks. The reason why "shadows, in photography, are generally too dark" is simply that the exposure is not long enough. The photographic plate is equally susceptible to any given

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amount of light, whether concentrated or feeble, and the actinic force is the same in one case as in another. If an object in shadow has one-sixteenth of the light on it that is on another in sunlight, it will require sixteen times as long an exposure; and when a photograph is too black in the shadows, it is so simply because the exposure was insufficient, and the shadows in the work of a competent photographer are not generally too dark. Then, again, the statement that "the fact that colors exist which we cannot see, but which possess actinic power, and that certain colored rays of light, which possess a great illuminating power, produce but little chemical action, is one reason why photography represents many objects with a wrong distribution of light and shade," shows as complete a misapprehension of scientific relations and language as can be found in any of the blundering effusions of the whole tribe of writers on photography. It must be difficult to determine the character of a color that cannot be seen, but the "invisible red" of which the author talks appears to be definable; though it is not so easy to see what is wrong in the "distribution of light and shade" of the photograph which is due to colors that are invisible. What is alluded to is, of course, the unequal rendering of the values of colors in photography. Not one word of all the labored disquisitions of this book is worth the ink it has taken to print it, and the practical directions are worth much less than those of any good book by a practical printer, because in such works it is not the theory that is wanted, but the consummate experience of men who understand all the difficulties of the beginner. The illustrations are repelling, and recommend neither the operator who made them nor the process by which they were produced.

Life of Heinrich Heine. By William Sharp. [Great Writers Series.] London: Walter Scott; New York: Thos. Whittaker. 1888. 12mo, pp. 211, xvii.

THERE is room for a short English biography of Heine, but the present volume, although purporting to be a "life" of the poet, and nothing else, relegates mere biography to a secondary place, and devotes a disproportionate space to a critical description and estimate of Heine's writings. For such a task the author possesses the one great qualification of being an ardent, though not a blind, admirer of the writings which he has chosen for his theme, and which he seems to have diligently studied. Nevertheless, his criticism does not satisfy the reader, in that it fails to strike the right note with the intuitive precision which distinguishes Matthew Arnold's famous essay, and which atones for inaccuracy in minor details. Mr. Sharp would have made his book better if he had given us more about the poet's life. It was not more abundant in incident than poets' lives are wont to be, but there were enough episodes in his career to furnish forth a volume of such modest proportions as this one is with an interesting and attractive narrative. A useful feature of the book is the appendix of seventeen pages, giving a fairly complete bibliography of Heine's writings, including translations, particularly the English ones, as well as of lives and criticism, whether in books or in periodicals, and concluding with a long list of songs set to music, naming the principal composers in each instance.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Archer, T. A. The Crusade of Richard I. 1189-92. [English History by Contemporary Writers.] London: David Nutt. New York: Putnams.
Binet, A. The Psychic Life of Micro-Organisms. Chicago: *Open Court* Publishing Co. 75 cents.
Blake, W. W. The Cross, Ancient and Modern. A. D. F. Randolph & Co. $1.50.
Blavatsky, H. P. The Secret Doctrine: The Synthesis of Science, Religion, and Philosophy. 2 vols. Chas. T. Dillingham. $10.
Böhm-Bawerk, Prof. E. von. Kapital und Kapitalzins. 2e Abtheilung: Positive Theorie des Kapitals. Innsbruck: Wagner.
Buck, Dr. J. D. A Study of Man, and the Way to Health. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. $2.50.
Burgwyn, C. P. E. The Huguenot Lovers; a Tale of the Old Dominion. Richmond, 905½ E. Main St.: The Author.
Callendar, H. L. Manual of Cursive Shorthand—System of Phonetic Spelling. Cambridge (Eng.): University Press. 2s., and 6d.
Hailes, T. C. Manual of Drawing. Chas. E. Merrill & Co.
Hall, Rev. J. A. Glimpses of Great Fields. D. Lothrop Co. $1.25.
Keener, Prof. W. A. Selection of Cases on the Law of Quasi-Contracts. 2 vols. Cambridge: Chas. W. Sever.
Kent, C. Leigh Hunt as Poet and Essayist. Frederick Warne & Co. $1.50.
Lamartine, A. de. Jeanne d'Arc. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co.
Levermore, Prof. C. H., and Dewey, Prof. D. R. Political History since 1815 (excepting the U. S.). A Syllabus of Lectures. Boston: W. J. Schofield. $1.25.
McGovern, J. Daniel Trentworthy: a Tale of the Great Fire. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co.
Miscellaneous Words, Prefixes and Suffixes, with Latin and Greek Roots, in Common Use. New ed. J. S. Babcock.
Purves, Dr. G. T. The Testimony of Justin Martyr to Early Christianity. A. D. F. Randolph & Co. $1.75.
Rein, Prof. J. J. The Industries of Japan. Together with an Account of its Agriculture, Forestry, Arts, and Commerce. Illustrated. A. C. Armstrong & Son.
Ripley, Mary A. Essay on Household Service. Buffalo, N. Y.
Rousseau, J. J. Profession of Faith of a Savoyard Vicar. Peter Eckler.
Schouler, J. History of the United States of America under the Constitution. Vol. IV. 1831—1847. Washington: William H. Morrison.
Shirreff, Emily. The Kinder-Garten. Principles of Froebel's System and their Bearing on the Education of Women. Syracuse: C. W. Bardeen. $1.
Shutts, G. C. Teachers' Handbook of Arithmetic. Boston: Ginn & Co.
Simonin, A. H. Solution du Problème de la Suggestion Hypnotique. Paris: E. Dentu.
Sims, G. R. Tales of To-Day. Frank F. Lovell & Co. 30 cents.
Stephens, C. A. Living Matter: Its Cycle of Growth and Decline in Animal Organisms. Norway Lake, Me.: The Laboratory Co.
Stopes, C. The Bacon-Shakspere Question Answered. London: Trübner & Co.
Storey, M. Politics as a Duty and as a Career. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 25 cents.
Strange Manuscript Found in a Copper Cylinder. Harper & Bros. 50 cents.
The *Critic*: A Weekly Review of Literature and the Arts. 1888. 2 vols. The Critic Co.
The *Daily News* Almanac and Political Register for 1889. Chicago: *Daily News*. 25 cents.
The Desmond Hundred. By the Author of 'A Nameless Nobleman.' Boston: Ticknor & Co.
The Encyclopædic Dictionary: A New and Original Work of Reference to all the Words in the English Language, with a Full Account of their Origin, Meaning, Pronunciation, and Use. With numerous illustrations. 14 vols. Cassell & Co.
The *Forum*. Vol. VI. *Forum* Publishing Co.
The Henry Irving Shakspere. Vol. V. Scribner & Welford. $3.
The History and Teachings of the Early Church as a Basis for the Reunion of Christendom. E. & J. B. Young & Co.
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Premiums on Policies not marked off 1st January, 1888		1,388,238 01
Total Marine Premiums		$5,253,404 39
Premiums marked off from 1st January, 1888, to 31st December, 1888		$3,867,269 52
Losses paid during the same period	$1,998,897 36	
Returns of Premiums and Expenses	$687,287 98	

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Loans, secured by Stocks and otherwise	2,469,000 00
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Premium Notes and Bills Receivable	1,374,912 12
Cash in Bank	252,812 02
Amount	$12,167,986 34

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